BIBLIOTHECA FICTIVA

THE SHERIDAN LIBRARIES
3 1151 03701 7641

ENGLISH DRAMATIC POETRY AND ANNALS OF THE STAGE

J. PAYNE COLLIER

VOL. I

GEORGE BELL & SONS

Ref

THE HISTORY

OF

English Dramatic Poetry

TO THE TIME OF SHAKESPEARE:

AND

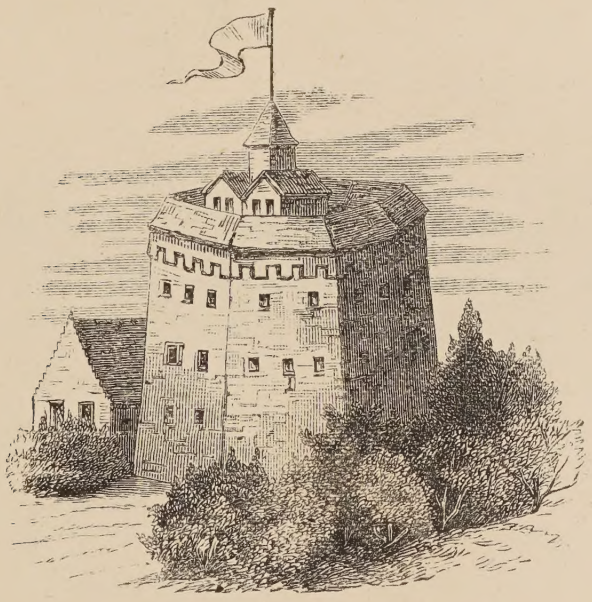
ANNALS OF THE STAGE

TO THE RESTORATION.

BY

J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A.

A NEW EDITION.



VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:
GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.
1879.

T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.

PREFACE TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

It is not far from fifty years since the original edition of this work was published; and it was then dedicated to a man in an exalted station, who was never tired of bestowing favours upon me, yet who never would allow me to consider him my patron, or to use any other term, as regarded my relative position towards him, than that of friend and pupil. By his annual bounty I was often enabled to avoid unwelcome knocks on my study door; and I should be most ungrateful if I did not add, that his noble successor, without the slightest claim upon him, and almost without personal knowledge of me, has continued the same uncalled-for liberality. I am too proud of the incident to omit the acknowledgment of it at the outset of the present edition of my early and laborious undertaking.

I may, perhaps, be allowed to add that the late Duke of Devonshire, notwithstanding his known partiality for letters, often and often told me that he would willingly relinquish half his fortune to see a representative of his family again a leading member of the Liberal party in national politics: had he fortunately lived as long as the object of his unceasing

kindness, he would have witnessed the accomplishment of his noble aspiration.

As to the volumes in the hands of the reader, I have to state that, since their original appearance, I have constantly kept a copy at my elbow in my study; and that, my eager pursuits continuing generally of a kindred character, I always added, in its appropriate division, any new discovery in connection with our early Stage and its Literature. The reader will therefore find in their places, not only the information originally supplied by me in 1831, but much that I have since been able to find; some of it more recently than the date when I was correcting my proofs. I may, perhaps, be allowed, even here, to give an instance in point, more especially as the intelligence relates to the greatest actor in the time of Shakespeare, who filled all the loftiest characters in his tragedies, and of whom, and of whose family, we have hitherto known nothing: I, of course, allude to Richard Burbage. Who shall say how much the genius of our great dramatist himself may not have been, I do not say inspired, but fostered and animated, by the knowledge that he had such a supreme representative at his service? Nobody has hitherto been able to affirm from whence, or from what family, Richard Burbage, the actor of Hamlet, Macbeth, Richard, or Othello came; but the general, if not universal, opinion has been that Burbage and his relations were of Warwickshire, if not indeed of Stratford-upon-Avon; and, possibly, that his father had been an actor. Now, what is the fact? and we have it on unquestionable evidence—the

original Registers of the Stationers' Company. The name Burbage, in the licence of those times, was indifferently spelt Burbage or Burby: it was so during the whole period that Richard Burbage was upon the stage and afterwards; and Cuthbert Burby, as a stationer, was actually the publisher of perhaps the earliest historical play Shakespeare ever wrote, and in which Richard Burbage had performed—we refer to *Edward the Third;* and it must have been represented in 1594 or 1595, and was printed and reprinted in 1596 and 1599. Cuthbert Burby also put forth the most correct text of other dramas by Shakespeare; and we may be confident that Cuthbert, the stationer, derived the better manuscripts from his brother Richard the actor.

How, then, do we establish that the father of Cuthbert and Richard was not himself an actor in Warwickshire, but an agriculturist in Bedfordshire? We take up the Register of the Company of Stationers for the year 1584, and there we read as follows:—'Cuthbert Burbie, son of Edmond Burbie, late of Erlsey, in the County of Bedford, husbandman, hath put himselfe apprentis to William Wright, Stationer, for the term of eight yeres from Christmas last;' with the addition that Cuthbert Burbie had paid the usual fee of two shillings and sixpence. There can be no question that Cuthbert, the stationer, and Richard, the actor, were brothers, that Burby and Burbage were the same name, and that their father, Edmond, had never been an actor, but a farmer, not in Warwickshire, but in Bedfordshire.

With this indisputable proof I was not acquainted until

recently; indeed, so very lately, that I was not able to insert it when Vol. iii, pp. 257, 258, passed through my hands, and contains such an account of the Burbage family as I could then furnish. I only mention the matter to establish to how late a date my information is brought down: why, of the two sons of Edmond the husbandman, one became a bookseller in London and the other an actor in Warwickshire and afterwards in London, must remain matter of speculation and future enquiry: there might then be good reason for keeping up the distinction between the publisher and the actor, especially as they lived in the same street; but there can now be no doubt as to the facts, and I refer to them here chiefly to enforce the fitness of examining ancient records, and to encourage those who may follow me (now in my ninety-first year) in searching closely and industriously, not only the most likely, but the most unlikely places. I have done my best to make my work complete; but in that very endeavour I prove how much yet remains to be accomplished.

As I began, so I end, with my heart-felt thanks to the noble House of Cavendish, the last-deceased member of which would never permit me to employ the only really appropriate word in reference to his generous aid, and my own insufficiency.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Riverside, Maidenhead, May 1879.

CONTENTS OF THE WORK.

THE FIRST VOLUME.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE.

Preface to First Edition, Page i.

From the Earliest Time to Henry VIII, Page 11.

Fitzstephen and Matthew Paris
Miracle-play of St. Katherine, 1119
Annales Burtonenses, 1258
Manuel de Péche
Feast of Corpus Christi, 1264
Piers Ploughman and Chaucer
Minstrels and their rewards, 1333
Ludi of Edward III in 1348
Miracle-plays in London, 1378
Miracle-plays of St. George in 1416
Lidgate and John Rykell
Moral-plays *tempore* Henry VI
Minstrels of Henry VI in 1445
Players of interludes in 3 and 4 Edw. IV
Players, etc., of Richard III, and of the Duke of Norfolk, 1482
Children of the Chapel, 1467 and 1482
Players of interludes, etc., of Henry VII
Players of the Prince and the Queen
The King's and Queen's minstrels, 1494
Disguisings and revels *temp.* Henry VII
Polidore Virgil regarding plays
Players of the nobility, 1509
The clergy actors as well as authors

During the Reign of Henry VIII, Page 65.

Royal revels at Court, 1510
Sir Henry Guildford, temporary Master of the Revels
R. Gibson, J. English, H. Medwall, and W. Cornyshe, 1515
The King's old and new players
Children of the Chapel, 1515
John Heywood, the singer
The King's books of payments to 1521
Garments for players, 1516
The King's minstrels and their wages
William Peeres, interlude-maker to the Earl of Northumberland
Comedy of Plautus before Henry VIII
Revels before Princess Mary, 1522
Plays performed at marriages, etc.
Household of Henry VIII in 1526
William Crane, Master of the Chapel
The Duke of Richmond's rewards, 1526
Revels under Sir Henry Guildford and Sir Thomas Wyat, 1527
Play at Gray's Inn before Wolsey, 1528
Luther brought upon the stage
Robert of Cicily played at Chester, 1529
John Heywood's interludes, 1530
The King's Household Books
Proclamation against interludes, 1533
Sir David Lindsay's Three Estaitis, 1539
Players committed to the Counter, 1543
Stat. 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. i
Thomas Wylley's letter to Cromwell
Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, 1546

During the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary, Page 136.

The King's musicians and players, 1547
Warwick Inn and Blackfriars
Will Somers, jester to Henry VIII and Edward VI
Proclamation against plays, etc., 1549
Proclamation against Players and Printers, 1552
George Ferrers, Master of the King's Pastimes, 1552
The play of Æsop's Crow, by G. Ferrers
Plays, etc., before the Princess Elizabeth
William Baldwin and his play, 1553
Proclamation by Queen Mary against interludes, 1553
Plays suppressed for two years
Stage-play at Hatfield-Bradock, 1556
Orders by the Star Chamber against theatrical performances, 1556
A Sack full of News
Plays and players in London, 1557
The Queen's musicians and players, from her household-book
Mask and feats of activity, before the Queen
Miracle-plays in London in 1557

From the Accession of Elizabeth to the year 1575, Page 166.

Proclamation against plays, 1558
Sir R. Dudley's servants, 1559
Players at Court interrupted
Sir Thomas Benger, Master of the Revels, 1560
Children of the Chapel of Windsor
The Queen's musicians and players, 1562
Ferrex and Porrex and Julius Cæsar
Masks, etc., for the meeting of Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, 1562
Grindall's hostility to plays and players, 1563
Edwards's tragedy, etc., before the Queen
Ezechias, by Nicholas Udall, 1564
Palamon and Arcyte, by Richard Edwards, 1566
Gray's-Inn Plays and Court revels
Apparel of the revels, in 1571
Musical and Dramatic establishments of the Queen, 1571
Stat. 14 Eliz. c. 5, against the players of the nobility
Plays before the French Ambassadors, 1572
Thomas Blagrave, chief officer of the revels, 1574
Patent to James Burbage and others, Lord Leicester's players, 1574

From the year 1575 to the year 1585, Page 206.

Lord Mayor and Corporation of London opposed to theatrical performances
Act of Common Council, 1575
Petition of the Queen's players
Remedies for the evil of plays, 1576
Players expelled from the City
Building of Blackfriars playhouse by James Burbage and others, 1576
The Theatre and Curtain in Moorfields
Robert Wilson and John Lane or Laneham
Sir Jerome Bowes and his theatrical project, 1577
Shows, etc., at Kenilworth Castle
William Hunnis's interludes
Edmund Tylney, Master of the Revels, 1579
John Lyly's petition for the office
John Smith, an interlude player, 1581
Renewed hostility of the City to plays
Observation of the Sabbath, 1582
Accident at Paris Garden, 1583
John Field's letter to Lord Leicester
The Queen's company of players, 1583
The Queen's musicians and players in 1585
Recorder Fleetwood's reports to Lord Burghley

From the year 1585 to the year 1599, Page 255.

Sir Francis Walsingham's Intelligencer's Letter, 1586
Warrant to Thomas Gyles, master of the children of Paul's
Plays by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn
Lord Bacon's letter to Lord Burghley, 1588
Mask given by Elizabeth to James VI of Scotland, 1589
Players silenced for bringing Martin Marprelate on the stage, 1589
Commissioners to inspect plays
The Children of Paul's silenced, 1590
George Peele's verses to the Queen at Theobald's, 1591
Theatrical performances near Cambridge and in the University, 1593
Repair of Blackfriars Theatre in 1596
Petition by William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, and others to the Privy Council, 1596
Debts of the Queen's office of the revels
Letter from Thomas Nash to Sir R. Cotton, and his Isle of Dogs, 1597
Limitation of the right of playing to two theatres, 1598

From the year 1599 to the death of Elizabeth, Page 301.

Building of the Fortune Theatre, 1599
The Fortune and Globe Theatres only allowed, 1600
Personalities in plays at the Curtain, 1601
Disputes between the Court and City
The Queen's players dissolved
The Lord Chamberlain's, Lord Pembroke's, Lord Derby's, and Lord Admiral's players at Court, 1601
Diary of a Barrister in 1601, 1602, and 1603
Song in a mask before Elizabeth, 1602
The Queen entertained at Sir R. Cecill's and the Lord Keeper's, 1602
Performance of Shakespeare's Twelfth Night in 1601-2
Anecdote of Shakespeare and Richard Burbage
Anecdotes of Ben Jonson, John Marston, Edmund Spenser, Sir W. Rawley, and Sir J. Davies
Death of Queen Elizabeth, 1603
The Earl of Essex and the Queen's ring
List of theatres in London

From the Accession of James I to the year 1617, Page 331.

English players at Edinburgh, 1599
Plays suspended on the accession of James I
License of 1603 to L. Fletcher, W. Shakespeare, and others
Queen's and Prince's servants
Children of the Queen's Revels under Samuel Daniel, 1604
Eastward, Ho! and the Tragedy of Gowry
The King's musicians and players
Stat. 1 Jac. I, c. 78, regarding the players of the nobility
Ben Jonson's MS. masks, 1605 and 1606
Stat. 3 Jac. I, c. 21, against oaths in plays
Shakespeare's retirement as an actor
Sir George Buc Master of the Revels, 1610
Death of Prince Henry, 1612
Patent of 1612 to the Prince Palatine's players
Players sent to Bridewell, 1613
Phœnix, or Cockpit Theatre, in Drury Lane, constructed
The Globe Theatre burnt, 1613
Paris Garden rebuilt, 1614
Shakespeare's removal from London
New theatre in Blackfriars projected, 1616
Attack upon the Cockpit Playhouse, 1617

From the year 1617 to the death of James I, Page 390.

Play concerning the Marquis d'Ancre, 1617
Plays during the King's progress, 1618
The Queen's Servants of her royal chamber of Bristol, 1618
The King's Declaration regarding sports and pastimes, 1618
Attempts by the City to suppress the Blackfriars Theatre, 1619
Patent in 1619 to the King's players at the Globe and Blackfriars
Sir John Astley, Master of the Revels
Projected amphitheatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields, 1620
King's letter to cancel the patent
The Fortune Theatre burnt, 1621
Death of Richard Burbage, and notice of some of his chief parts, 1620
Sir Henry Herbert, Deputy Master of the Revels, 1622
Plays licensed by Sir George Buc
J. Fletcher's plays distinguished from those of F. Beaumont
Fatal accident at the Blackfriars, 1623
Plays licensed by Sir Henry Herbert prior to 1625
Middleton's Game of Chess, and the offence given by it, 1624

From the Accession of Charles I to the year 1635, Page 434.

Stat. 1 Car I, c. 1, against plays, bear-baiting, etc., on Sunday
Patent by Charles I to Hemmings, Condell, as his players, etc., 1625
Gift to them of one hundred marks
Musicians of Charles I in 1625
The project for an amphitheatre revived
Shakespeare's plays acted at the Red Bull Theatre, 1627
Salisbury Court Theatre built in 1629
Experiment of French actresses, 1629
Petition to Laud against the Blackfriars Theatre, 1631
Gift by the King of 100*l.* to his players
Midsummer Night's Dream played on Sunday in the house of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, 1631
Sir Humphrey Mildmay's Diary
Prynne's Histriomastix, and consequences of its publication in 1633
John Shakespeare, a bit and spur maker in London, 1633
Arrest of strolling players at Banbury
Regulations regarding coaches at Blackfriars, 1633
The King's opinion respecting oaths in plays, under 3 Jac. I, c. 21
Mask of the Four Inns of Court, 1634

THE SECOND VOLUME.

From the year 1635 to the closing of the Theatres, Page 1.

Establishment of a French company in London, 1635
The King's debts for plays, etc.
Five English companies in London
Restraint of players in consequence of the plague, 1636
Twenty pounds a week allowed to the King's players
Juvenile Company under Christopher Beeston, 1637
Players at the Cockpit arrested
Order against printing plays
The King's objection to a passage in a play by Massinger, 1638
Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels in his own right
Davenant's projected theatre near Fleet Street, 1639
Order regarding the exclusive right of acting plays
Personalities in plays at the Red Bull Theatre, 1639
Davenant's resignation of his patent for a theatre, 1639
Insubordination of William Beeston's company, 1640
Ordinance of 1642 concerning the temporary suppression of stage plays
Infraction of the Ordinance, 1644
Ordinance for the punishment of players, 1647
Proceedings in Parliament regarding plays and theatres
Act of 1647, for the permanent suppression of stage-plays, etc.
Disobedience to the Act, in 1649
Accident at Witney, on the performance of Mucedorus, 1654
Davenant's Siege of Rhodes, 1646

HISTORY OF DRAMATIC POETRY.

Introduction to Miracle-plays, Page 53.

The subjects of Miracle-plays and misapplication of the word 'Mystery'
Their origin and antiquity
Chester plays at Whitsuntide, 1268
Proofs that they were translated from the French by Ralph Higden
Mistère du Viel Testament par personnages joué à Paris, pr. 1490
Oldest English Miracle-play
The Widkirk Miracle-plays
Ludus Coventriæ
The Chester Miracle-plays
Cornish Guary Miracle
The clergy authors and actors of Miracle-plays
Register of Thetford Priory from 1461 to 1540
Guild of Corpus Christi at York, 1408
Churches the earliest theatres
Trading companies the performers of Miracle plays
The object of Miracle-plays
Mechanical contrivances for acting Miracle-plays

The Widkirk, Chester, and Coventry Miracle-plays, Page 81.

The Proclamation of the plays
The Creation
Rebellion of Lucifer
Death of Abel
Noah's Flood
Abraham and Isaac
Jacob and Esau
Prophecies of the Messiah, etc.
Balak and Balaam, etc.
Salutation of the Virgin
Conception and birth of Christ
Adoration of the Shepherds
Oblation of the Three Kings
Slaughter of the Innocents
Christ's Baptism and Temptation
Woman taken in Adultery, etc.
Treachery of Judas.
The Crucifixion
Casting the Dice
The Harrowing of Hell
The Resurrection
The Ascension
Antichrist
The Last Judgment
MS. of the Chester plays written by Edward Gregorie, 1591

Review of the Digby Miracle-plays, Page 152.

Three plays on the Conversion of St. Paul
Oreginale de Sancta Maria Magdalena
Childermas Day: or, the Slaughter of the Innocents, attributed to John Parfre

---

Review of Printed Religious Plays, Page 158.

Christ's Temptation, by John Bale
Mary Magdalen, by Lewis Wager
Interlude of King Darius
History of Jacob and Esau
Tragedy of Abraham's Sacrifice
Interlude of Godly Queen Hester

Introduction to Morals, or Moral-plays, Page 183.

Definition of a Moral, or Moral-play
Origin and antiquity of Moral-plays
Warton's opinion on the origin of Moral-plays
Allegorical personages
The Devil and the Vice
Mistakes regarding the Vice
Representation of Moral-plays
Interludes, and the time of their performance
The Cradle of Security
The Play of Plays in Gosson's Plays Confuted in Five Actions
Defence of Plays, by Thomas Lodge

Manuscript Moral-plays of the reign of Henry VI, Page 200.

The Castle of Perseverance
Mind, Will, and Understanding
Mankind

Printed Moral-plays, relating to Mankind at large, Page 217.

Nature, by Henry Medwall
The World and the Child
Hick Scorner
Every-man
The Interlude of Youth
Lusty Juventus

Moral-plays of a general character, Page 236.

Nature of the Four Elements
Magnificence, by John Skelton
The Trial of Treasure
The longer thou livest, the more Fool thou art, by W. Wager
Like will to Like, by Ulpian Fulwell
Marriage of Wit and Science
John Redford's MS. Moral plays
All for Money, by Thomas Lupton
Three Ladies of London
Three Lords and Three Ladies of London
Liberality and Prodigality

Moral-plays, resembling Tragedy and Comedy, Page 269.

Tom Tiler and his Wife
The Conflict of Conscience, by N. Woodes
The Disobedient Child, by T. Ingelend
Jack Juggler
Cambyses, by Thomas Preston
Appius and Virginia, by R. B.
Albion, a political interlude
Common Conditions
Interlude of Nice Wanton

Interludes, Page 299.

Pardoner, Friar, Curate, and Neighbour Pratt
The four P's
John, Tib and Sir John
Play of the Weather
Wit and Folly
Gentleness and Nobility
Thersytes
Robin Conscience
Beauty and Good Properties of Women

Introduction to the Rise and Progress of Tragedy and Comedy, Page 324.

The terms explained
Early Tragedies and Comedies
Romeo and Juliet prior to 1562
Stephen Gosson's three dramatic pieces
Sources of dramatic compositions
G. Whetstone and Sir Philip Sidney on plays prior to 1583
The style of our earliest dramatic productions
Spenser's Tears of the Muses
Shakespeare's first dramatic efforts, and the date when he began to write
Tragedy, History, and Comedy
Dramatic authors usually actors

Tragedy and Comedy, their Rise and Progress, Page 351.

Ralph Roister Doister, by Nicholas Udall
Gammer Gurton's Needle, by John Still
Misogonus, by Thomas Richards
Ferrex and Porrex, by T. Sackville and T. Norton

The same subject continued, Page 389.

Damon and Pythias, by Richard Edwards
The Supposes and Jocasta, by George Gascoigne and others
Tancred and Gismund, by R. Wilmot and others
Translations of Seneca's tragedies
Plays at Court between 1568 and 1580

The same subject continued, Page 418.

A Knack to know a Knave
Wil iam Kemp's Merriments
Sir Clyomon and Clamydes
The Misfortunes of Arthur, by Thomas Hughes and others
The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune
The domestic tragedy described
Arden of Feversham and the Yorkshire Tragedy attributed to Shakespeare
A Warning for Fair Women
Two Tragedies in one
The Tragedy of Page of Plymouth
The Fair Maid of Bristol, etc.

Review of the Six Old Plays to which Shakespeare is supposed to have been indebted, Page 448.

The History of Promos and Cassandra, by George Whetstone
Troublesome Reign of King John
Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth
The Taming of a Shrew
Chronicle History of Leir, King of England
Manæchmi, from Plautus, by W. W.

Introduction to the immediate Predecessors of Shakespeare, Page 467.

The number of companies of players in London prior to 1590
Philip Henslowe and his Diary or Account-book beginning in 1591
Edward Alleyn and Henslowe
Henry Chettle and his plays mentioned by Henslowe
Anthony Munday and his plays
Michael Drayton's William Longsword
George Chapman, one of Henslowe's dramatists
Henry Porter's productions
Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day
Henslowe's connection with Shakespeare's company
Wentworth Smith
Richard Hatheway
John Webster
Thomas Middleton
Prolific talents of our old dramatists

Marlow, and the first employment of blank-verse on the public Stage, Page 487.

R. Greene's Menaphon, 1587, and Perimedes, 1588, quoted regarding dramatic blank verse
Proofs that Marlow wrote the two parts of Tamburlaine the Great
The first blank verse play acted on the public stage
Examination of the two parts of Tamburlaine the Great
Examination of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus
Examination of the Massacre at Paris
———— the Jew of Malta
———— Edward the Second
Inquiry into Marlow's Versification
The true Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York

Review of Robert Greene's Dramatic Works, Page 522.

Personal particulars regarding Greene
Greene's blank-verse for the stage
Pandosto, Groat's-worth of Wit, and other tracts, by Greene
History of Orlando Furioso
Friar Bacon and Friar Bongay
James the Fourth
George-à-Green, the Pinner of Wakefield
Alphonsus, King of Arragon

THE THIRD VOLUME.

HISTORY OF DRAMATIC POETRY—(*Continued*).

Review of John Lyly's Dramatic Works, Page 1.

His rank as a dramatic poet
Letters to Lord Burghley
Alexander and Campaspe
Sapho and Phao
Galathea
Midas
Mother Bombie
Maid's Metamorphosis
Woman in the Moon
Love's Metamorphosis

Review of George Peele's Dramatic Works, Page 17.

Praise of Peele by Thomas Nash
Arraignment of Paris
Battle of Alcazar
Old Wives' Tale
Edward the First
David and Bethsabe

Review of Thomas Kyd's Dramatic Works, Page 29.

Kyd's rank next to Marlow
The First Part of Jeronimo
The Spanish Tragedy
Cornelia

Review of Thomas Lodge's Dramatic Works, Page 36.

Lodge, Greene, and Kyd compared
Lodge's novel of Rosalynde, the foundation of As You Like It
Wounds of Civil War
Lodge's and Greene's Looking-Glass for London and England

Review of Thomas Nash's Dramatic Works, Page 43.

His satirical and vituperative talents
Play called the Isle of Dogs
Contest with Gabriel Harvey
Summer's Last Will and Testament
Nash's and Marlow's Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage

Works by H. Chettle, A. Munday, and R. Wilson, Page 50.

Chettle originally a compositor
Tragedy of Hoffman
Patient Grissell
Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green
Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington
Two Italian Gentlemen
Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington
Life of Sir John Oldcastle
The Cobbler's Prophecy

Works by S. Daniel, Lady Pembroke, and S. Brandon, Page 67.

The Classic Drama as opposed to the Romantic Drama
Tragedy of Cleopatra, by Daniel
Tragedy of Philotas, by Daniel
Lady Pembroke's Antony
Samuel Brandon's Virtuous Octavia

THE OLD THEATRES, THEIR APPURTENANCES, ETC.

Account of the Old Theatres of London, Page 81.

The Theatre
The Curtain
Blackfriars Theatre
Paris Garden
Whitefriars and Salisbury Court Theatres
The Globe Theatre
The Fortune Theatre
The Rose, Hope, Swan, and Newington Theatres
The Red Bull Theatre
The Cockpit or Phœnix Theatre

Details connected with the performance of Plays, Page 140.

Public and private theatres
Price of admission to theatres
Properties, apparel, and furniture
Scenery
Hour and duration of performance
Jigs
Play-bills
Rehearsals
First performances
Printing plays
Pamphlets
Dedications
Extemporal plays and plots
Audiences
On the payment of authors
On the payment of actors
Prologues and Epilogues
Prompter
Music

Memoirs of the Principal Actors in Shakespeare's Plays, Page 257.

Richard Burbage
John Heminge
Augustine Phillips
William Kemp
Thomas Pope
George Bryan
Henry Condell
William Sly
Richard Cowley
John Lowin
Samuel Crosse
Alexander Cooke
Samuel Gilburne
Robert Armin
William Ostler
Nathaniel Field
John Underwood
Nicholas Tooley
William Ecclestone
Joseph Taylor
Robert Benfield
Robert Goughe
Richard Robinson
John Shancke
John Rice

ILLUSTRATIONS.

The Globe Theatre .. .. Title to Vol. I.
Paris Garden Theatre .. .. ,, ,, II.
The Fortune Theatre .. .. ,, ,, III.

PREFACE TO THE FORMER EDITION.

ENGLISH Dramatic Poetry stands alone in the history of letters[1]; but while in Germany it has been enthusiastically admired and diligently studied, in this country, as if satisfied with our acknowledged pre-eminence, it has attracted comparatively little attention. Excepting only so far as was necessary for the illustration of the text of *Shakespeare*, the origin and progress of that art, in which he had many precursors and rivals, seem to have been thought scarcely worth inquiry.

We are therefore without any history of English dramatic poetry; for although Warton, in his progress through other departments, has touched upon that subject cursorily and incidentally, he has not attempted to trace its development and improvement to the period to which his work extends. The field of English poetry was too wide for him to dwell even upon its most remarkable productions.

This deficiency I have attempted to supply; and, as far as

[1] If there be any just exception to this remark, it can apply only to the dramatic poetry of Spain. Even France might have possessed a 'romantic drama', had the unaided and popular exertions of Hardie been followed up by other poets. That author, who for so many years, and while our Shakespeare and Spain's Lope de Vega were yet living, was the sole support of the French stage, could never have been so prolific, had he checked the luxuriance of his fancy by the observance of the unities. He is said to have produced not less than eight hundred pieces of different descriptions.

zeal and industry merit success, I claim to have deserved it. Thus far every man has a right to speak of his own qualifications, though I am well aware how many others are necessary for the completion of such an undertaking. To a large mass of facts that are quite new, I have been careful to add the valuable, but scattered information furnished by Warton; but it seemed to me that the dramatic poetry of this country formed of itself a department so important and interesting, as to demand to be separately and systematically examined. For England to possess the greatest dramatic poets of the world, and to be without a history of her dramatic poetry, seemed an extraordinary solecism in letters.

The present work consists of three divisions:—

I. Annals of the Stage.

II. A History of Dramatic Poetry.

III. An Account of Theatres and their Appurtenances.

In point of novelty and interest, I ought first to have treated the second of these branches; but I thought that an inquiry into the progress of dramatic poetry ought to be preceded by such details as I could furnish regarding the public or private encouragement it from time to time received, and the state of society at particular periods when the stage either flourished or declined. The Annals of the Stage commence at the earliest period to which any records of the kind extend; and they supply facts connected with the establishment, promotion, limitation, or suppression of the theatre, as a national institution, down to the Restoration. It is admitted, that after this event our drama assumed an entirely new character. By the discovery of some valuable manuscripts, I have been able to carry back this portion of my inquiry to a more remote period than any precursor; and I have added many new and curious particulars, of a later date, to the scanty stock of knowledge before acquired.

When I commenced my researches, nearly twenty years ago, I was discouraged on all hands by those who imagined that Malone, Steevens, Reed, and Chalmers had exhausted the subject, and that, in the harvest they had reaped, they had not left even gleanings behind them. Nevertheless, seeing how many deficiencies remained to be supplied, I persevered in the collection of materials. I obtained admission into the State Paper Department, the Privy Council Office, and into the Chapter House, Westminster, and I soon discovered in these depositories many valuable original documents, throwing a fresh, clear, and strong light upon some of the most obscure parts of the history of our stage and drama. Among these were unopened patents to different companies of players, and original accounts of the royal revels from the early part of the reign of Henry VIII ; while the unexamined books of the domestic expenses of our Kings and nobility, from the reign of Edward IV downwards, provided me with a great variety of novel and interesting details.

These sources of information had not been open to general search, and I was therefore not much surprised to find that a great deal had escaped discovery; but when I came to examine the manuscripts in that great national receptacle, the British Museum, to which everybody could easily obtain access, I was astonished at the quantity of substantial materials which had remained there undetected. From the *Burghley Papers* scarcely a single fact had been procured, although nearly every volume contained matters of importance; and the *Harleian*, *Cottonian*, and *Royal MSS.* had been only cursorily and hastily inspected.[1] In these I met

[1] To show how little attention they had attracted, I need only mention, that among the *Royal MSS.* I found two of Ben Jonson's *Masks*, in his own hand-writing, nowhere noticed but in the *Catalogue*, itself very imperfect.

with letters from, and concerning, our most notorious poets, the predecessors and contemporaries of Shakespeare; and in a Diary, kept by an intelligent Barrister, who lived while our great dramatist was in the zenith of his popularity, I found original and authentic notices and anecdotes of him, Spenser, Jonson, Marston, and other distinguished authors of the time. It occupied me some years to go through the voluminous collections in the Museum, but I never had occasion to regret the misspending of a single hour so employed.

In the second division of my work, the History of Dramatic Poetry, I begin with Miracle-plays (hitherto mistakenly termed 'Mysteries'), as the source and foundation of our national drama; and I have, for the first time, adduced some proofs that we were indebted to France. The account I have given of them contains much that was before unknown; and the whole subject, while it is curious to the antiquary, will not be found without interest to the general reader. I am not aware of the existence of any performance of the kind in our language, whatever may be its date, that I have not carefully examined. I have thence traced the connection between Miracle-plays, consisting in the outset of Scripture characters, and Moral-plays (or 'Moralities' as they have been of late years usually denominated), represented by allegorical personages; and I have shown how the first, almost imperceptibly, deviated into the last, by the gradual intermixture of allegory with sacred history, until Miracle-plays were finally superseded.

This view of the subject, which does not seem to have occurred to any who have gone before me, is succeeded by a similar investigation of the structure and design of Moral-plays. I have endeavoured to point out the manner in which they, in turn, gave way to Tragedy and Comedy, by the introduction, from time to time, of characters in actual life, or supposed to be drawn from it. With this purpose, I have

inspected, I believe, all, and in the course of my work reviewed most of the principal Moral-plays in our language, whether printed or manuscript, commencing with those most nearly allied to the Miracle-plays they excluded, and proceeding by gradations to those which, in their form, characters, and dialogue, more or less distantly resemble Tragedy and Comedy. It will be seen, in the course of this inquiry, that in process of time their separate natures became mixed and confounded, and that ultimately, as might be expected, the real was entirely substituted for the fictitious.

The growth of Tragedy and Comedy, from their infancy until they reached maturity in the hands of Shakespeare, has next been considered. I am not aware that I have neglected to notice any production that could illustrate the inquiry, and the extraordinary facilities I have enjoyed have enabled me to examine some dramatic performances, in this and other views of great value, which have either remained unknown, have been misunderstood, or have been passed over in silence. This part of the subject has necessarily embraced an examination of the predecessors and earlier contemporaries of Shakespeare. I have been anxious to arrive at a just estimate of them and their works, in order to ascertain how far our great dramatist was indebted to any previous models, and to what extent he deserved the praise, which Dryden was the first to bestow, that he 'created the stage among us'.[1] It was, in truth, created by no one man, and in no one age; and whatever improvements Shakespeare introduced, it will be seen that when he began to write for the theatre, our romantic drama was completely formed and firmly established.

The romantic drama and the classic drama, as far as relates to the disregard or observance of the unities, perhaps had their origin in the same cause, operating upon a different

[1] In the dedication to his translation of *Juvenal*, 1692.

state of society, viz., the imperfectness and incompetence of mechanical and scenic art. While in Greece and Rome the effect was to limit the action to one place and time, so as not to offend the understandings of more refined spectators, in England appeal was made only to the imagination of a ruder auditory, which willingly believed that the same boards in the same play represented perhaps two different quarters of the globe.

I have not brought down the History of Dramatic Poetry lower than the era of Shakespeare, because nearly all the principal dramatists who followed him are well known. The works of Ben Jonson, of Beaumont and Fletcher, of Ford, Massinger, and Webster, have been separately published, and those of Marston and Shirley are in progress through the press; upon these I could pretend to offer little that was new. I might, indeed, have enlarged upon Chapman, Dekker, Heywood, Brome, and some others; but specimens of their plays have been presented in various shapes, and they possess few characteristics to distinguish them from more notorious contemporaries. Shirley was the last of the School of Shakespeare, and he continued to write until the closing of the theatres by the Puritans, and died after the Restoration.

The third division of my subject relates to the Origin and History of our old Theatres, with as complete a view of their appurtenances, properties, and other matters connected with them, with authors, actors, and audiences, as I could procure from printed books or manuscript authorities. Here I am bound to admit that Malone did much; but he left much undone, and, in the details he furnished, committed important errors, which subsequent inquiries have enabled me to correct. I have pointed out the site and foundation of theatres of which he confessedly knew nothing, and I have filled up

various *lacunæ*, some of which he would doubtless have himself supplied, had he lived to enlarge and remodel the prolegomena to his *Shakespeare*. Adopting, with due acknowledgment, such materials as he and others furnished, and adding to them my own acquisitions, I have arranged the whole under distinct heads, so that the existing information upon any particular point may be referred to and examined at once. I have carefully collated all the extracts, but amid so many quotations and references, I can hardly hope that some unimportant errors do not remain.

Such is the general outline of my undertaking; and my obligations to those who have aided me in the progress of it are great and numerous.

My debt of gratitude to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire precludes the possibility of adequate acknowledgment; but I would rather be thought wanting in the due expression of my obligation, than risk the imputation that I have overstated my sense of such flattering encouragement and liberal assistance. Among other singular advantages, I have enjoyed unrestricted access to that most valuable collection of plays commenced by the late John Philip Kemble, and continued by his Grace, until it now forms a complete English Dramatic Library, from the earliest to the latest date.

Lord Francis Leveson Gower is himself a poet; and with the liberality which belongs to his rank in life and in letters, he afforded me every facility in the inspection of many volumes of the utmost rarity at Bridgewater House.

Through my friend Mr. Amyot, Sir Robert Peel, then principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, gave me admission into the State Paper Office. I found that he had anticipated my purpose by ordering a collection to be made of such documents as related to the stage; that collec-

tion, however, was not completed, and my object was zealously seconded by Mr. Lemon.

By Mr. Hudson Gurney, M.P., I was favoured with the unlimited use of three manuscript Moral plays, the earliest, and, without dispute, the most valuable specimens of the kind in our language.

To Mr. Davies Gilbert, M.P., I have to return my thanks for the gift of two curious works, printed under his direction, illustrative of the Cornish Guary Miracle; and for the opportunity of searching the manuscripts of the Royal Society, of which he was then President.

Mr. Peregrine Townley, at the friendly instance of Mr. Gage, with alacrity placed in my hands a series of Miracle-plays, long preserved in his family, older than any other manuscript of the same description in English.

The Privy Council Registers, from the earliest date to which they extend, were opened to me by order of Mr. Greville; and he most obligingly lent me his assistance in searching the volumes of early proclamations belonging to that office.

My hearty acknowledgments are also due to Sir Thomas Phillipps, whose collection of manuscripts is well known; to Mr. Douce, whose learning is as curious as it is extensive; to Mr. Markland, the learned editor of two of the Chester Miracle-plays; to Mr. Ellis, Mr. Madden, and Mr. Carlisle, of the British Museum; to Mr. Dyce, so well read in our old poetry; to Mr. Bright, who lent me an unprinted play of the utmost singularity; to Mr. Caley, keeper of the records in the Augmentation Office and Chapter-House; and to Messrs. C. and F. Devon of the latter establishment; to Mr. Phelps, Mr. Field, and Mr. Haslewood. Of the extraordinary resources of the latter I could not extensively avail myself, as they chiefly relate to a period of our dramatic history to which I have not brought down my present work.

Last in the list, but unquestionably among the very first in obligation, I have to name my friend Mr. Amyot, Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries. To him I am indebted, not only for much valuable knowledge, but for the means of information, by most serviceable introductions, and for the kindest aid throughout my undertaking. To all who are acquainted with him this tribute will appear unnecessary.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

No country in Europe, since the revival of letters, has been able to produce any notice of theatrical performances of so early a date as England.[1] That notice was first published by Stow in his *Survey of London*, 1599, who discovered it in the *Vita Sancti Thomæ Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, by William Fitzstephen. In that work the author inserts a description *nobilissimæ civitatis Lundoniæ*, which contains the following passage: *Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, representationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu representationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum.*[2]

[1] The plays of Roswitha, a nun of Gandersheim, in Lower Saxony, who wrote at the close of the tenth century, and which are mentioned in a note by the Editor of the last edition of Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, ii, 68, were not represented.

[2] There is a slight difference in the mode in which these words have been translated into English. Stow gives them thus: 'London, for the shews upon theaters, and comical pastimes, hath holy playes, representations of miracles, which holy confessors have wrought; or representations of tormentes, wherein the constancie of martirs appeared.' (*Survey*, 1599, p. 68.) Warton renders them compendiously as follows, omitting to notice the words *pro ludis scenicis:* 'London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has holy plays, or the representation of miracles wrought by confessors, and of the sufferings of martyrs.' He adds in a note, that he

It is probable that Fitzstephen wrote before the year 1182; and as Thomas à Becket was not killed until 1170, the author of his Life is speaking of theatrical performances in London during the twelve years between those dates; which is bringing it to as near a point as we can expect to arrive at. Warton thought, from the mention of Henry III in it, that Fitzstephen did not write his *Life of Thomas à Becket* until after 1216, when that King came to the throne; but Ritson has shewn that the Henry III there spoken of was 'Henry the younger, son of Henry II, and grandson of the Empress Matilda, who was crowned king in the life-time of his father',[1] and who died in 1182.[2] If Fitzstephen, in his *Description of London*, allude to Henry III as still living, it would establish that he produced that part of his work prior to A.D. 1182.

It is to be inferred that these *spectacula theatralia* were then

has 'construed *sanctiores* in a positive sense', without stating his reason for so doing. (*Hist. Eng. Poet.*, ii, 69, 8vo.) Malone elsewhere follows Warton, but calls the representations 'religious plays'. (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 9.) The Rev. S. Pegge, who published the *Description of London by Fitzstephen*, in 1772, translates *sanctiores* in a comparative sense: 'London, in lieu of the ancient shews of the theatre, and the entertainments of the scene, has exhibitions of a more devout kind; either representations of those miracles which were wrought by the holy confessors, or those passions and sufferings in which the martyrs so signally displayed their fortitude.' Fitzstephen has just before referred to the state of Rome in this respect, and seems to be drawing a comparison between the public amusements there and in London.

[1] Ritson's note in Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, ii, 69, edit. 8vo.

[2] This point is rendered still clearer by the circumstance, that Fitzstephen states that the Henry III whom he mentions was born in London: Prince Henry, the son of Henry II, was born in London, but Henry III, who succeeded in 1216, was born at Winchester. The double reign of Henry II and his son is noticed in the old comedy called *Looke about You*, 1600, where we meet with the following stage direction: 'Sound trumpets, enter with a herald on one side, Henry the Second, crowned, &c. On the other part, K. Henry, the son, crowned,' &c.

established performances; and it is known that, prior to 1119, the Miracle-play of St. Katherine had been represented at Dunstaple. This fact is proved by Matthew Paris and Bulæus: the former wrote his *Vitæ Abbatum*, etc., as early as 1240; where we are told, that while Geoffrey, afterwards Abbot of St. Albans, was yet a secular person, he was invited from Normandy by Richard, the then Abbot of St. Albans, to teach the school established there; that, in consequence of some delay, when Geoffrey arrived the vacant office had been filled, and that he, therefore, took up his residence at Dunstaple, and brought out the Miracle-play of St. Katherine:—*Legit igitur apud Dunestapliam, expectans scholam S. Albani sibi repromissam; ubi quendam ludum de S. Katerina (quem Miracula vulgariter appellamus) fecit; ad quæ decoranda petiit a Sacrista S. Albani, ut sibi capæ chorales accommodarentur, et obtinuit.*[1] Matthew Paris proceeds to relate, that on the following night Geoffrey's house was burnt, together with the *capæ chorales;* and, considering it a judgment of heaven, 'he made himself a holocaust', assumed the *habitum religionis*, and subsequently became Abbot of St. Albans.

The testimony of Bulæus, in his *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, is important in fixing the date of the representation of the play of St. Katherine. He informs us, that Geoffrey was a member of the University of Paris, and that he died in 1146, having been raised to the dignity of Abbot of St. Albans in 1119.[2] It is undoubted, that he brought out the play while he was yet at Dunstaple, and before he had assumed the religious habit, so that 1119, when he became Abbot, is the nearest date which can be fixed with certainty. Warton conjectured, that the Miracle-play of St. Katherine was represented by the scholars of Geoffrey

A. D. 1119.

[1] *Vit. Abb. ad calc. Histor. Major.* Edit. 1640, tom. i, p. 56.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 226. Edit. Paris, 1665.

'about the year 1110';[1] but, perhaps, it was performed even earlier, as that date would leave only nine years between his taking orders (in consequence of the fire the day after the exhibition, according to Matthew Paris) and his attainment of the highest dignity in the monastery of St. Albans.

According to Bulæus, this play of St. Katherine was not then by any means a novelty—*non novo quidem instituto, sed de consuetudine magistrorum et scholarum*, and from a passage in the *Annales Burtonenses* we may conclude, that in the time of Matthew Paris, or very shortly afterwards, itinerant actors were well known. Among the regulations, under date A. D. 1258. of A.D. 1258, we there meet with the following remarkable expressions: *Histrionibus potest dari cibus, quia pauperes sunt, non quia histriones; et eorum ludi non videantur, vel audiantur, vel permittantur fieri coram Abbate vel monachis.*[2] Here the words *histriones* and *ludi* would seem distinctly to point out the nature of the performances.[3] One objection to these *ludi* might possibly be, that the *histriones* gave them in the popular language of the country; and it will be seen hereafter, that there is some ground for supposing that the Miracle-play of St. Katherine, and other dramatic

[1] *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, ii, 68, edit. 8vo. Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 9), professing to follow Warton, asserts without qualification, that the play was performed 'in the year 1110', and he refers to Dr. Percy in confirmation, whose words on the contrary are, 'this was probably within the eleventh century.' *Reliques*, i, 138, edit. 1812. The words are not in the earliest impression of 1765.

[2] Gale, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptor. Vet.* i, 437.

[3] Warton (*H. E. P.*, iii, 41, edit. 8vo) is of opinion, that the word *histrio* had a very wide application in the barbarous ages, including mimics, jugglers, dancers, tumblers, musicians, and minstrels; but in a note to the preceding page, he refers to this very passage from the *Annales Burtonenses*, in order to shew, that in this instance it excluded minstrels, harpers, and jugglers, and that it meant *players*.

representations, founded upon the lives of saints, and upon the events of the Old and New Testaments, at the date now referred to, were in French.

The clergy do not seem to have been at all unanimous as to the propriety and policy of public dramatic performances, and we find a violent attack upon them in the *Manuel de Péché*, an Anglo-French poem, written about the middle of the thirteenth century.[1] Robert de Brunne's English version of it bears date in 1303, and both that and his original (but especially the latter) gave a minute and distinct account of the authors of Miracle plays, their subjects, and the circumstances under which they were usually performed. The following extract is from that division of the poem which relates to 'the fourthe dedly synne', where the author is speaking of 'a clerk of order', and of the amusements into which he may, or may not, be allowed to enter.

A. D. 1303.

Hyt ys forbode[2] hym yn the decre
Myracles for to make or se;
For myracles, 3yf[3] you bygynne,
Hyt ys a gaderynt, a syght of synne.[4]
He may yn the cherche, thurgh thys resun,
Pley the resurreccyun;

[1] It is not at all clear to whom the authorship of the *Manuel de Péché* is to be assigned. At the commencement of the translation it is given to Robert Grossetete, who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235; but at the end of several of the French MSS. it is claimed by William de Windinton, or Wadigton; and the body of the poem contains a story about Grossetete himself, which he would hardly have inserted had he been the writer. It is possible, that the Bishop produced the work under an assumed name. The Editor of Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, edit. 8vo., is inclined to doubt the pretensions of Grossetete.—See vol. i, p. 62. *n.* s.

[2] Forbidden. [3] If.

[4] Robert de Brunne often abridges and paraphrases his original, and these four lines are an instance in point. The French copy charges the

That ys to seye, how god rose,
God and man yn myght and los,[1]
To make men be yn beleve gode,
That he ros with flesshe and blode;
And he may pleye wythoutyn plyght[2]
Howe god was bore yn thole nyght,
To make men to beleve stedfastly
That he lyght yn the vyrgyne Mary.
ȝyf thou do hyt in weyys or grenys[3]
A syght of synne truly hyt semys.[4]

---

clergy with being the contrivers or inventors of Miracle-plays, and mentions how they disguised and painted their faces in them;—

'Un autre folie molt apert
Unt les fous clers contrové,
Ky sunt miracles apelé.
Lur faces unt tut deguisez,
Par viseres li farcenez,
Ky est defendu en decré;
Tant est greignur le péché.'

We quote from the *Royal MS.* 20, B. xiv, which is more full and correct than any of the four copies among the *Harleian MSS.*

[1] Strength and weakness. [2] *Forsan*, Condition.

[3] In the introductory matter to *The Castle of Perseverance*, a MS. Moral in the collection of the late Hudson Gurney, Esq., M.P., of which more will be said hereafter, the audience is expressly told that the performance will take place 'on the green'.

'These percell in propyrtes we 'spose us to playe,
This day sevenenyt be fore you in syth,
At N—— *on the grene* in ryal a ray.'

Here N is put for the *Nomen* of the place, which was to be inserted by the person proclaiming the performances.

In 1511, the miracle-play of St. George was acted in a croft, or field at Basingborne, and one shilling was paid for the hire of the ground on the occasion. See Warton, *H. E. P.*, iv, 152, edit. 8vo.

[4] The argument seems to be, that it is a sight of sin to witness the performance of Miracle-plays of the resurrection or birth of Christ, 'on highways or greens', but that they may be permitted in churches devoted

He then quotes *Seynt Ysodre*, to show that those who indulge themselves in these exhibitions forsake

'God and here cyystendam[1]
That make swyche[2] pleyys to any man,
As myracles: * * *
Agens god thou brekest cunnaunt
And servyst youre syre Termagaunt.
Seynt ysodre seyth yn hys wrytyng,
Alle tho that delyte to se swyche thyng,

---

to the service of God. Robert de Brunne here slurs over one of the points of his original, which runs thus:

Cum Jhu Crist, le fiz dé,
Esteit en sepulcre posé,
Et la resurrycciun
Pur plus aver devociun;
Mes fere foles assemblez
En le rues de citez,
Ou en cemiters apres manger,
Quant venunt les fous plus voluntier
Tuz dient ky le funt pur ben,
Mes crere ne plus pur ren.

With reference to the performances in cemeteries, here reprobated, the following is from Warton (*H. E. P.*, ii, 73): 'As to the religious dramas, it was customary to perform this species of play on holy festivals in or about churches. In the register of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, under the year 1384, an episcopal injunction is recited against the exhibition of *spectacula* in the cemetery of his cathedral.' In a note, Warton cites several other instances of the same kind at other places; but he expresses a doubt as to the nature of these *spectacula:* had he seen the passage in the *Manuel de Péché*, where *Miracles* are expressly called *spectacles*, his doubt would have been removed. The author of the French original is very particular in stating precisely to what performances he refers:

Et il dist ky tel ky funt spectacles,
Cum hem fet a miracles,
Ou gus ky nous namamez ens, &c.

[1] Baptism. [2] Such.

Or hors, or harneys lenyth[1] partyl,
Yyt have they gylt of here peryl.
ȝyf prest or clerk lene[2] vestment,
That halwed ys thurgh sacrament,
More than outher they are to blame;
Of sacrylege they have the fame.'

This proves the practice which prevailed of lending horses, harness, and even hallowed vestments from the monasteries, in order to get up Miracle-plays; which, it has been seen, was precisely the case with the performance under the care of Geoffrey at Dunstaple. The author proceeds to attack 'daunces, karols, somour games', and concludes this part of the subject with some abuse of minstrels, 'that yn swyche thyngs delyte hem alle', love 'nother god ne goddys hous', and get their 'cloth, drink, and meat', by folly.[3]

The writer of the French *Manuel de Péché* particularly reprobates the performance of Miracle-plays *en les rues de citez*, which seems to point at the performance of plays or pageants during the festival of *Corpus Christi*. It is supposed that these were first introduced into this country in the year 1268, very shortly after the festival of

A. D. 1268.

[1] Lendeth. [2] Lend.

[3] In an allegorical poem, written early in the fourteenth century, representing life as a pilgrimage, and man as a pilgrim, the hero, in the course of his journey, encounters Satan, and the deadly sins. 'Gladnesse of the world' is represented as a minstrel, who invites the pilgrim to partake his pleasures:

'Telle on to me, and say not nay,
What maner solace, or what maner play
Loveste thou beste? tell on, late se,
And I shall playen to fore the.'

The hero is cast into a sea of trouble in consequence of listening too patiently to the harper, but is rescued by a character called 'God's-grace', and the cardinal virtues: he narrowly escapes 'the tower of

Corpus Christi had been established by Pope Urban IV:[1] that event occurred in 1264; so that only four years elapsed before the annual representation of Miracle-plays, at Chester during Whitsuntide, appears to have been established. Exhibitions of a similar kind took place at Coventry, York, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Durham, Lancaster, Leeds, Preston, Kendall, Bristol, Witney, Cambridge, Manningtree, and various other places; and it may be conjectured, that they were originally introduced into large towns nearly contempora-

flame' of Satan; but finally triumphs, exclaiming, 'swyche playes I defye.' *Cotton MSS. Tiberius, A.* vii.

The quotations from Robert de Brunne are in *Harl. MS.* No. 1701.

[1] In Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vi, 268, the following account of the origin of the feast is given on the authority of St. Antonius, Archbishop of Florence:

'A priest, having spilt at mass some of the consecrated wine, it appeared upon the *corporale* (that is, upon the piece of linen on which the chalice and host are placed by the officiating priest) like so many drops of blood. But Diestemius, Prior of the Benedictines at Liege, tells us that the priest being staggered in his belief of the real presence, blood flowed from the host into the chalice, and upon the *corporale*. The *corporale* being brought, bloody as it was, from Bolsena, where the miracle was supposed to have happened, to Orvieto, the Pope, after examining the priest and all who were present, was convinced of the miracle, and thereupon appointed the solemnity of Corpus Christi to be annually celebrated.'

On this occasion, Urban IV granted a pardon of a certain number of days to all who attended different parts of divine service at this festival. It is extant in *Harl. MS.* No. 955, under the following title:—'Here foloweth the pardon of corpus Christi fest, which is graunted bi pope Urban the fourth, and bi pope Martin the fift, and bi pope Eugeny the fourthe, and is witnessed bi the generall counsell of Basill.'—

It contains nothing about the representation of Miracle-plays; and, consequently, must be different from the pardon mentioned in the *Proclamation of the Whitsone Playes*, at Chester, dated 24 Henry VIII, as granted by Clement [VI] for the encouragement of those performances.

neously, for the purpose of disseminating among the people a certain amount of knowledge of Scripture history; and, as Robert de Brunne remarks (for the observation is not found in any copy of the original I have had an opportunity of examining), in order to extend a belief in the miraculous conception of the Saviour, as well as in the resurrection.

In *Piers Ploughman's Crede*, two lines are put into the mouth of a friar minor, which advert to the performance of Miracle-plays in market towns:

> 'We haunten no tavernes, ne hobelen abouten;
> At marketes and Miracles we meddley us never."[1]

Chaucer has many allusions to exhibitions of this description, and he represents his Wife of Bath amusing herself with them during Lent, and while her husband was absent:

> 'Therfore made I my visitations,
> To vigilies and to processions,
> To prechings, and to thise pilgrimages,
> To playes of myracles, and to mariages,
> And wered upon my gay skarlet gites.'[2]

It may be doubted, whether by the word *Menestrallus*, found in accounts of household expenses, about this period, and a little earlier, something more might not be meant than a mere

[1] Yet in 1420, not long after this poem was written, we find a friar minor interfering at York, to procure the annual representation of the *Corpus Christi* plays, and he was then called 'a professor of holy pageantry'.—See the Appendix to Drake's *History of York*.

[2] It is a coincidence perhaps worth notice, that in the year in which Chaucer is supposed to have been born, 1328, 'Playes of Myracles', as he calls them, were, perhaps, first performed in English; the conjecture, hereafter attempted to be supported, being that until then they were only allowed in French.

player upon an instrument.[1] In the MS. series of pageants at Chester and Coventry, 'minstrels' are not unfrequently spoken of; and there, unquestionably, their business was only to fill up intervals, or to accompany certain parts of the performance, with music. As early as A.D. 1308, the Duke of Lancaster had a company *menestrallorum,* with an *Armiger Menestrallorum,* forming part of his domestic establishment.[2] The author of the *Manuel de Péché,* and the translator of it, Robert de Brunne, in a manner couple minstrels and Miracle-plays; but there is, we apprehend, no evidence to prove that minstrels at any time acted, although they certainly aided in such representations. A. D. 1308.

Robert Baston, a Carmelite friar of Scarborough, who flourished in the reign of Edward II, and accompanied that king in his expedition into Scotland, is mentioned by Bale (quoted by Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, ii, 65, edit. 8vo.) as the author not only of *Poems and Rhymes,* but of *Tragœdiæ et Comœdiæ vulgares.* None of these are extant, but no reasonable doubt can be entertained that they were Miracle-plays. Some of Baston's dramatic productions might be in existence

[1] Bishop Percy was of opinion that minstrels were authors and composers of songs and ballads, as well as performers of them on the harp. (*Reliques*, i, xxi, edit. 1812.) Ritson, on the other hand, denies the position, and probably degrades the character of a minstrel below the level it actually held in society among our ancestors. (*Ancient Songs and Ballads*, i, xvii, edit. 1829.) In his answer to Percy, he has displayed a vast deal more learning than candour, and the discovery of truth is sacrificed to the love of triumph. The result seems to be that neither disputant was strictly in the right; for although minstrels (most anciently called *Gleemen*), in the first instance 'united the arts of poetry and music', yet they subsequently seem to have lost this distinction, and to have degenerated into 'mere musicians', and performers upon instruments.

[2] *Vide Lansdown MSS.* No. 1. The cost of this establishment cannot be ascertained, as it is mixed up in the MS. with miscellaneous items.

at the time when Bale wrote, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

In the year 1333, Eleanora, the sister of our Edward III, was married to Reignold, Earl of Guelderland, and in a MS. of the receipts and payments on that occasion, and during her journey, mention is made of a *lusum in camera sua*, but in what sense we are here to take the word *lusum* is questionable. It is clear that it was not a performance of music; and in the same accounts we find frequent entries of payments to minstrels for their minstrelsies, both in the house of the Princess and elsewhere.[1] It is very possible that this *lusum* was some game of chance, at which the Princess lost her money; but nevertheless she paid a 'bag-piper' twelve shillings with her own hand.

In this reign, and not long after the event just noticed, A. D. 1348. *ludi domini Regis* are mentioned. In 1348, Edward III kept his Christmas in the castle of Guildford, and there these *ludi* were exhibited: from the nature of the mate-

[1] The following items, with a view to our present purpose, are curious. The MS. from which they are taken was in Mr. Craven Ord's collection, now dispersed:—

	s.
'Duobus Menestrallis facientibus menestralcias suas - -	20
'Cuidam Menestrallo facienti Menestralciam suam coram Dna Eleonora in tenemento suo - - - -	12
'Lusum in Camera. Eccelmo Dalmaund, servienti Regis ad arma, per denarias per ipsum solutas diversis locis, per diversas vices, diversis servientibus libantibus Dnæ E. pro luso in camera sua -	17
'Diversis vidulatoribus facientibus menestralcias suas coram cruce ad porticum borealem in ecclesia Sti. Pauli London, de dono Dnæ E.	12
'Cuidam Menestrallo, vocato Bag-piper, facienti menestralciam suam coram Dna Eleonora, per manus proprias - -	12

Her liberality to musicians was extraordinary; and one of them, William Cardinall, is mentioned by name. She bestowed upon them

rials and properties furnished, it is sufficiently evident that they were of a dramatic character. Warton gives the subsequent enumeration of them:[1] 'eighty tunics of buckram of various colours, forty-two visours of various similitudes; that is, fourteen of the faces of women, fourteen of the faces of men with beards, fourteen of the heads of angels made with silver; 14 *crestes cum tibiis reversatis et calceatis*, 14 *crestes cum montibus et cuniculis* (terms which Warton professes himself unable to understand), fourteen mantles embroidered with heads of dragons, fourteen white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks, fourteen heads of swans with wings, fourteen tunics painted with eyes of peacocks, fourteen tunics of English linen painted, and as many tunics embroidered with stars of gold and silver'. In all probability, as Warton suggests, these *ludi* were what were some time afterwards called in English 'disguisings'.[2]

many other smaller sums, and on the day she was *desponsata* she gave a largess of £20 to the minstrels. She had also gentlemen and singing men belonging to her chapel, who were allowed servants and horses.

[1] *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, ii, 72, edit. 8vo. He quotes as his authority *Comp. J. Cooke Provisoris Magnæ Gardarobæ, ab ann.* 21 *Edw. III* (misprinted Edw. I), *ad ann.* 23, *Membr. IX.*

[2] According to Ritson (*Bibl. Poet.*, 79), Lidgate wrote 'A *Disguising* or *Mumming* before the King at Eltham'; and he refers to *Harl. MS.*, No. 2255, which however now contains no such production. In a 'disguising' perhaps speech was allowed. Strutt (*Sports and Pastimes*, 223) seems to make no distinction between mummings and disguisings, but speaks of the abuses that crept into them, which, in the reign of Henry VIII, led to the passing of an Act 'that no persons should appear abroad like mummers, covering their faces with vizors, in disguised apparel under pain of imprisonment'. 3 Hen. VIII, c. 9. It will be seen hereafter that, while Henry VIII was on the throne, 'disguisings' were extremely common at court, as indeed they had been in the reign of his predecessor. In the interlude of *The Nature of the Four Elements*, printed early in the reign of Henry VIII, after a list of the characters,

In 1389, the 12th Richard II, a similar entertainment was got up for the amusement of the king and his court; the entry in the wardrobe accounts being—'*pro* 21 *coifs de tela linea pro hominibus de lege contrafactis, pro ludo regis tempore natalis Domini, anno* xii.[1]

A. D. 1389.

In what respects a 'disguising' differed from a 'mumming' is a point which it is now impossible to settle with precision; but the following minute and curious account of the mode in which a 'disguising', both by men and women, was to be brought in and regulated, is copied from one of the *Fairfax MSS.*, entitled *The Booke of all manner of Orders concerning an Earle's house*, etc., some part of which is dated 16 Henry VII, although the handwriting appears to be that of the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. It provides first that the 'disguising' shall not come into the hall until the 'interlude, comedy, or tragedy' is ended; it then proceeds thus:—

'The Disguisers to come in aftir this manour following, with iij torcheis to be borne before theim at their riding into the Hall, with iij yomen waiters, suche as shalbe appointed by the Marshallis to do it.

'Furst iij yoman waiters to beir iij torchies to light them into the hall, and when the saide Disguisars ar comyn into the hall, than the saide parsonnes that berith the saide lightes to make their obeysaunce and departe, or ellis to stand on

we find these words added, 'Also yf ye lyst ye may brynge in a dysgysynge,' but where, and for what purpose, is not explained. It was, probably, a mere dumb show of persons dressed in fantastic habits to relieve the dulness of the performance.

[1] Warton states, that this entertainment was given in 1391, but the entry expressly states that it was at Christmas, in the 12th Rich. II. The *Comp. Magn. Garderob. Rich. II* appears to be dated in 1391, which led to the error.

side, and the iiij minstrallis, suche as the Lord haith at that tyme, there to stonde in the hall before the saide disguisars com, and assoon as they be comyn into the hall, the minstrallis to stand aside and play. And than the disguisars to make their obeysaunce altogeder and daunce suche daunces as they be appointed. And when the saide disguisars hath doon their saide daunces, than halfe of them to stand uppon the oon side and halfe uppon the outher side, if there be no women. Provided alwaies that if there be women disguised, then they to com in first. And if there be women disguised, then half of the minstrallis afforesaid to fet in the outhir disguisars with the lightes after they have browght in the women, and they have daunced and their obeysaunce made, ande stande a side. And they to do as the outhir did before, ande than they to stande uppon the outher side. Alwaies the men gevinge to the women the prehemynence of their standnge. Alwaies provided that the minstrallis shall bring theym in, playing before thaym such daunces as they shall daunce. Ande when they have doon, in like case the Morris to come in incontinent as is apointed, yf any be ordeynid. And when the saide Morris arrives in the midist of the hall, than the said minstrallis to play the daunces that is appointid for theim. And when they here the said minstrallis play, than to come out oon aftir an outhir, as they be appointid. And when they have doon to go forth in like case as they came into the said towre, or thing devised for theim. Always reservid to the maister of the disguisinges to order it as he shall think best and convenient ; and when the said Moris is doone, than the gentillmen to com unto the women and make their obeisaunce, and every of them to taike oon by thand, and daunce suche base daunces as is apointed theym ; and that doon than to daunce such rounds as shall be appointed them to daunce togeder by the maister of the revills ; and

that doon, to bring the women to their places agayne and make their obeysances, and then departe to their owne places where they stood before.'

A. D. 1401. In a MS. 'Chronicle of English affairs, especially those relating to the city of London, from 1st Rich. I, to 21st Henry VI', under date of 1401, is inserted the following paragraph: 'In this yere was here the Emperor of Constantinople and the Kyng helde his Christemasse at Eltham, and men of London made a gret mummyng to him of xii Aldermen & here sones, for whiche they had gret thanke.'[1] There is little or no doubt that a mumming was a dumb shew,[2] and we hear of mummings at a considerably earlier date than that last quoted. Stow mentions instances in 1236 and 1298, and gives a very detailed account of an exhibition of the kind in the streets of London in 1377, 'for the disport of the yong prince Richard, son to the blacke prince'.[3] It is also noticed, though with greater brevity, in a MS. Chronicle in the Harleian collection, printed by the Society of Antiquaries.[4]

The performance of Miracle-plays at Chester probably commenced, as has been observed, in the year 1268; but it is not until more than a century afterwards that we find any

[1] *MSS. Harl.* No. 565.

[2] The late Mr. Phelps, whose name as a literary antiquary is well known, communicated for our use the particulars of the Mumming still, continued in Gloucestershire at Christmas. This exhibition certainly partakes of the nature of a Miracle-play, with the characters of Herod, Belzebub, and others; but we apprehend that they were comparatively modern insertions, perhaps after Miracle-plays ceased to be represented, and while the people still relished the sight of 'the tyrant King' and the fiery Devil.

[3] Stow's *Survey*, 1599, p. 71.

[4] *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. Under the care of the late Thomas Amyot, Esq., then treasurer of that Society. It is *Harl. MS.* No. 6217.

trace of similar representations in London. In 1378, the scholars, or choristers, of St. Paul's Cathedral presented a petition to Richard II, praying him to prohibit some ignorant and inexperienced persons from acting the history of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended considerable sums for a public representation of plays founded upon that portion of Scripture at the ensuing Christmas.[1] These ignorant and inexperienced persons were, perhaps, tradesmen and artificers, who in country places, at a very early period, so occupied themselves at Whitsuntide; and as we have no trace that in London such shows were ever undertaken by persons of this class, the interference of the public authorities may have prevented the experiment both then and subsequently. A. D. 1378.

This restraint, if it were imposed, obviously did not apply to the parish clerks of London, who had been incorporated by Henry III, and who, as Warton remarks, were at that day justly to be considered 'a literary society', if they did not come precisely under the denomination of a religious fraternity. Stow[2] informs us that in 1391, the parish clerks of London performed a play at Skinner's Well, near Smithfield, in the presence of the king, queen, and the nobles of the realm, which lasted for three days.[3] A. D. 1391.

[1] Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 24.

[2] *Survey of London*, 1599, p. 69.

[3] The following items from Rolls in the possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Stafford, at Stafford Castle, refer to revels in London, in 15 Richard II:

	s.	*d.*
Solut. Johanni Allot de rewardo pro servicio suo in hospitio dni [Comes Stafford] London tempore magni Revell. post festum Sci Michaelis - - - - -	6	8
Et solut. Dno Roberto Mauvesyn pro costag. suis in servicio Dni London tempore supradicto dci Revell. - - -	20	0

Three other persons obtained 13s. 4d. each for their services (whatever they may have been) on the same occasion.

The entries in the records of the Pell Office are precisely these; and they supply the name of the play, which is omitted by Stow; the date is 14 Ric. II, anno 1391: 'To the Clerks of the parish Churches and to divers other Clerks in the City of London—In money paid to them in discharge of £10 which the Lord the King commanded to be paid them of his gift on account of the play of the *Passion of our Lord and the Creation of the World*, by them performed at Skinnerwell after the feast of Saint Bartholomew last past, £10.'

The MS. Chronicle, before cited with regard to the mumming in the presence of Henry IV and the Emperor of Constantinople, contains also the following passage under date 1409: 'This yere was a pley at Skynners Welle, which endured Wednesday, Thorsday, Fryday, and on Soneday it was ended. Thanne beganne the fetees of werre in Smythfield for diverses chalanges.' Stow in his *Chronicle* is more particular, and asserts that the performance occupied eight days:—'This yeere (1409) was a great play at the Skinners Well, neere unto Clearkenwell, besides London, which lasted eight daies and was of matter from the creation of the world: there were to see the same the most part of the nobles and gentles in England; and forthwith after began a royall justing in Smithfield betweene the Earle of Somerset and the Seneshall of Henalt, Sir John Cornwal, Sir Richard of Arundel, and the son of Sir John Cheyney, against other Frenchmen.'[1] The expression used by Stow, that the great play was 'of matter from the creation of the world,' indicates sufficiently clearly,

A. D. 1409.

[1] Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 549, edit. 1615. He does not state his authority; and in *Cotton MS. Vitell. A I* (containing 'the names of the Maires, and Shrevis in the City of London' in the reigns of Edw. III, Rich. II, Hen. IV, V, and VI), 'the great pley at Skynners Welle' is noted as the chief event of the year 1408: the performance was unquestionably most attractive during the whole period to which it extended.

that the performances were a series of dramatic representations founded upon Scripture.

In 1416, the Emperor Sigismund was in England, having arrived for the purpose of endeavouring to make peace between this kingdom and France. He was magnificently received and entertained at Windsor; and a chronicle in the Cottonian Collection[1] gives a description of a performance before him and Henry V, on the incidents of the life of St. George. The representation seems to have been divided into three parts, and to have been accomplished by certain artificial contrivances, exhibiting, first, 'the armyng of Seint George, and an Angel doyng on his spores [spurs];' secondly, 'Seint George ridyng and fightyng with the dragon, with his spere in his hand;' and, thirdly, 'a castel, and Seint George and the Kynges daughter ledyng the lambe in at the castel gates.' Here we have clearly the outline of the history of St. George of Cappadocia, which often formed the subject of a miracle-play; but whether, in this instance, it was accompanied with dialogue, or was (as is most probable) merely a splendid dumb shew, assisted by temporary erections of castles, etc., we are not informed. The wardrobe accounts of Henry V do not supply us with any information regarding this or other similar representations;[2] but, in the seventh year of that reign, a warrant was issued for taking up children for the musical service of the Chapel Royal. A. D. 1416.

It is perhaps worth remark, that John Lydgate, who, in his poem called *The Daunce of Macabre*, introduces members of

[1] *Cotton. MS., Calig. B. II.*

[2] They were in Mr. Craven Ord's collection. In the 9th year of Henry V, as we learn from them, Will. Egleston, Thomas Pykbone, Will. Heringe, John Laurence, Will. Newman, and Thomas Hanton, were 'boys of the Queen's Chapel'; and they were paid 40s. for wages for half a year, and 10s. by way of reward. They were most likely only singers.

all classes of society, as summoned by Death and making a reply to his summons, while he brings forward minstrels and tragitours (or jugglers), says nothing of players: he mentions John Rykell, tragitour of Henry V, by name,[1] which may be thought to fix the period at which *The Daunce of Macabre* was written. Yet Lydgate was himself the author of a series of pageants or Miracle-plays;[2] and, in a work written at a subsequent date, which is generally known by the title of *The Interpretacyon of the names of Goddys and Goddesses*,[3] but is in fact an elaborate allegory upon human life, as-

[1] *Harl. MS.*, No. 116. There is another imperfect copy of this poem in the British Museum; and in the catalogue it is erroneously stated to be a dramatic performance. It is, in fact, only a series of inscriptions for a succession of pictures representing the Dance of Death. Death says to the Minstrel,—

'O! thou mynstrall, that canst so *note* and *pipe*
Unto folkes for to do pleasaunce,'

which may serve to shew that, in the time of Lydgate, minstrels were composers of music, as well as performers upon instruments; and so far support Bishop Percy. To John Rykell, who is introduced as the representative of the class to which he belonged, Death says,—

'Maister John Rykell, sometyme tregitoure
Of noble Henry kynge of Englonde,
And of Fraunce the myghty conqueroure,
For all the sleightes and turnyngs of thyne honde,
Thou must come nere this daunce to understonde,' &c.

A tragitour was a performer of tricks of sleight of hand; and Rykell, in his answer to Death, laments that 'Lygarde de mayne [legerdemain] now helpeth me right nought'.

[2] Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.*, 79; the reference he gives to *Harl. MS.* No. 2255 does not however bear him out.

[3] Dr. Dibdin (*Typ. Ant.*, ii, 322) assigns the printing of this poem to Wynkyn de Worde, on the authority of Herbert; but it came certainly also from the press of Pynson; and this edition was sold among Kemble's books. In the manner in which the story is conducted, it is very dramatic; and from its variety it is far less dull than most pieces of the

sailed by vices and defended by virtues, he does mention the profession of 'a player'; it is where Virtue says, that Sensuality must change his character, like an actor:—

'Is he so? qd Vertue.—Well shall he be taught,
As a player sholde.'

---

kind: that it is picturesquely written may be judged from the following description of the seven principal leaders on the side of Virtue, in her contest with Vice:—

'Next to the chare seven capteyns there roode,
Echone after other in ordre by and by.
Humylyte was the fyrst, a lambe he bestroode,
With contenance demure he rood full soberly;
A fawcon gentyll stood on his helme on hy:
And next after hym came there Charyte,
Rydyng on a tigre as fyll to his degre.

'Roody as a roose ay he kept his chere;
On his helme on hyghe a pellycan he bare:
Next whom cam Pacyence, that no where hath no pere;
On a camell rydyng as voyde of all care;
A fenix on his helm stood, so forth gan he fare.
Who next hym folowed but Lyberalyte,
Syttyng on a dromedary that was both good and fre.

'On his helme, for his crest he bare an ospray:
And next after hym folowed Abstynence,
Rydyng on an herte was trapure and gay;
He semed a lorde of ryght grete excellence:
A popynjay was his crest, he was of gret dyffence.
Next hym folowed Chastyte on an unicorne,
Armed at all poyntes behynde and beforne.

'A tortyldove he bare on hyghe for his crest.
Than came Good Besynesse, last of tho seven,
Rydyng on a panter, a sondry coloured best,
Gloryously beseen, as he had come from heven:
A crane on his hede stood, his crest for to steven.
All these vii capteyns had standardis of pryce,
Eche of hem accordyng after his devyse.'

The reign of Henry VI may be fixed upon as the epoch of the adoption of a new species of dramatic representation, which was afterwards known by the name of a Moral; its nature and construction is examined in that part of the present work which relates to the Origin and Progress of Dramatic Poetry in this country. Malone was of opinion that the first Moral (or Morality, as he, after the French, miscalls it) did not appear until the reign of Edward IV;[1] but three pieces of this description are extant, which are at least as old as the period when Henry VI was on the throne, and perhaps belong to the earlier part of his reign.[2]

The profession of an actor about the period now referred to was probably common, and itinerant companies of players seem to have been well known. One of the manuscript Morals just mentioned (*The Castle of Perseverance*), was represented by persons who made it their business to travel round the country for the purpose of acting. Whenever they arrived in a populous district, they despatched their standard-bearers and trumpeters to announce on what day, and at what hour, the performance would take place. The annual accompt-roll of the Augustine Priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire, cited by

A. D. 1431. Warton, shews that, in the year 1431, the minstrels of different nobility, Lord Talbot, Lord Strange, Lord Lovel, the Duke of Gloucester,[3] etc., visited the priory; but

[1] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 30.

[2] They were formerly in the collection of Dr. Cox Macro, and afterwards in the possession of Mr. Hudson Gurney. It will be seen that in the proper place I have examined the construction of these very singular early performances with the attention and minuteness they unquestionably deserve.

[3] The Duke of Gloucester had an Italian poet in his pay in 1437, named Titus Livius de Frulovisiis de Ferraria: he was naturalized in that year. Rymer's *Fœd.*, iv, Part I, p. 37.

ministralli is the word there invariably used ; in the accounts, however, of the Augustine Canons of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, anterior to the year 1461, the terms *mimi* and *lusores* constantly occur. Warton has not inserted the particular dates of his extracts, but he states that none of them are later than the reign of Henry VI.[1] *Citharistæ* and *joculatores* are also words employed in the same accounts; but they probably mean nothing more than harp-players and jugglers; *jocatores*, which is likewise found there, may point at something more dramatic; but, possibly, it is only an abridgment of *joculatores*—jugglers.

A short poem, in the *Harleian Collection*, 'partly English and partly Latin, on the dissoluteness of manners temp. Henry VI' (as it is entitled in the catalogue), may be adduced to shew that the performance of 'plays', especially on 'God's holidays', was then so frequent as to be considered by the writer a crying evil. The author says:

> 'Inglond goith to noughte, *plus fecit homo viciosus*,
> To lust man is brought, *nimis est homo deliciosus;*
> Goddis halidays *non observantur honestè*,
> For unthryfty pleyis *in eis regnant manifestè*.'[2]

---

[1] The following are among the entries, mentioning eight different companies, or performers.—Warton, *H. E. P.*, i, 94, edit. 8vo.:—

'Mimis de Solihul - - - - 6d
Mimo Domini Ferrers - - - - 6d
Lusoribus de Eton - - - - 8d
Lusoribus de Coventry - - - 8d
Mimis Domini de Astley - - - 12d
Mimis Domini de Warwyck - - - 10d
Sex mimis Domini de Clynton - [no sum]
Lusoribus de Coleshille - - - 8d'

[2] There are two copies of this satire in the *Harleian Collection*, viz., Nos. 536 and 941. As it is a curious and early specimen of this mingled

We do not find from any record that players of interludes were in the pay of Henry VI; but, in 1445, the minstrels belonging to the household were twelve in number, and they were permanently engaged for the amusement of the court.[1] They are mentioned under the name of 'the Kyng's Menstralys' in the accounts of John Lord Howard, from the second to the ninth year of Edward IV.[2] There also we hear

species of composition, and bears internal evidence of its date, a few lines, ridiculing the preposterous dress of men of the time, may be worth extracting:

'Thei bere a new faccion, *humeris in pectore tergo*,
Goddes placinacion *non illis complacent ergo:*
Wyde colers & hygh, *gladio sunt colla parata*,
Ware the prophesy *contra tales recitata:*
Longe spores on here heles, *et rostra fovent ocrearum*,
Thei thinke it doith welle, *non sit regula Sarum.*
A streite bende hath the hose, *languent a corpore crura*,
Thei may not, I suppose, *curvare genu sine cura.*
Whan other kneelis, *pro Christo vota ferentes*,
Thei stonde on here helis, *sed non curvare volentes*,
For hurtyng of here hose *non inclinare laborant*,
I trow for here longe toes, *dum stant ferialiter orant.*'

[1] This fact appears in *Lansd. MS.*, No. 1, among 'the Provisions made for the King's Household', 23 Henry VI. The terms of the entry are these: 'xii menistrealx, one Le Gaite',—Le Gaite (gaieté?), probably, being at the head of them. Ten years afterwards the 'ordinances and appointments' for the royal household were concluded at the great Council at Westminster; and at that date Thomas Ratclyffe, William Wickes, John Clyffe and Robart More belonged to the Company of royal minstrels. *Vide Cotton. MS., Cleop. F.* v.

[2] A very curious MS., lately in the collection of Mr. Craven Ord. The entry is as follows; and it is to be observed that, both here and elsewhere, we have ordinarily substituted Arabic for Roman numerals, as more convenient.

'Item, my Lord of Clarence owyth hym 20*s.*, the which he lent hym to geve to the Kyng's menstralys att the Meyry's house. 20*s.*'

That is to say, the Duke of Clarence borrowed 20*s.* of John Lord

of 'the Players of Stoke'; and a reward of two shillings was given 'to the players at Moleyne's wedding'; this is the earliest notice of the kind that we have met with.

Before we quit the reign of Henry VI, it is necessary to mention, that it may be collected from the chartulary of the Guild of the Holy Trinity of St. Botolph without Aldgate, that that Society, between the years 1443 and 1448, A. D. was, or had been engaged in the performance of 1443. Miracle-plays in London:[1] at least, at that period it had in its possession a 'rolle of velom', containing what is called *The Pagent of the Holy Trinity;* and as it is added, that it was 'paynted and lemenyd with gold', we may conclude that it was an illuminated MS. Pageant and play were then constantly used synonymously, and this 'rolle' was, no doubt, some dramatic piece in the nature of a Miracle-play on the subject of the Trinity.[2]

Howard, in order to present it to the King's minstrels, at an entertainment given at the house of the Mayor. From a vast variety of singular entries, in the same volume, we select the following, connected with the amusements of the court and people at this date:—

'Itm, gaff to a chyld that sang beffore my lorde, 4*d.*

Itm, my mastyr toke, to my lords bydding, the nexte morow after new yers day, to my ladys graundamys harpere, that dwellyth in Chester, 3*s.* 4*d.*

Itm, geven to a Pryste, that said a song afore my mastyr that nyte at Lincolne, 4*d.*

Itm, geven to a harper there, 1*d.*

Itm, for 2 bokys, a Frensch boke and a Ynglysh boke, calyd *Dives et Pauper*, 13*s.* 4*d.*

Itm, my mastyr paid for his costes, and for his mennes, in tyme of the Justes at Westminster, 14*s.*

Itm, the 21 day of Apryll my mastyr gaff to the waytes at Colchester, 1*s.* 4*d.*'

[1] See Hone's *Ancient Mysteries Described*, pp. 84 and 85.

[2] This fraternity was incorporated as early as 1375, 48 Edward III, and in the first instance it does not appear to have been engaged at all in

Early in the succeeding reign we meet with the first legis-
A. D. 1464. lative enactment which mentions 'players of interludes': it is the 3 and 4 Edward IV, which regulates the apparel to be worn by different classes of society, and contains a special exception in favour of henchmen, pursuivants, sword-bearers to mayors, messengers, minstrels, and 'players in their enterludes'. In the rolls of Winchester College for 1466, persons of this profession are called *interludentes*, in an entry of the payment of 4*s.* to '*iiij interludentibus; et J. Meke, citharistæ*', who doubtless accompanied them as their minstrel.

The Antiquarian Society of London possesses two MSS. of the reigns of Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, and Henry VII, which furnish some very valuable information connected with this inquiry. The first of these is the *Household-book* of
A. D. 1481. John Lord Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, from the year 1481 to 1483: it is thus headed—'The Boke off dayly percellis begonne the xx^{ti} yere off kyng Edward the iiijth and the xxiij day off Feverer: wyche lastyth unto the xiiijth day off Octobre in the xxij^{ti} yere off the Rayng off the sayde kyng Edward: and also Reckenynges for the goying into Skotlande.' In this curious volume we have met with no notice of 'players' under that denomination, nor indeed under any other that can be considered at all distinctive of the profession of an actor; but the items regarding 'minstrels' are not unfrequent. Lord Howard had, indeed, four 'children of the chapel' attached to his own domestic establishment, and they might very possibly be employed both in performing interludes and in singing.[1] The second of these relics, extending from 1483 to 1501, is thus entitled on the outer cover:—'An

dramatic representations. It is possible that *The Pageant of the Holy Trinity* had devolved into its possession, and that the fraternity never assisted in the performance of it.

[1] The subsequent entries of various dates, in the years 1481 and 1482,

account of the disbursements of John Lord Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, about his private affairs in the reigns of King E. 4, E. 5, R. 3, H. 7'; and within, in a handwriting of the time, we read the following introduction to the various items:—'This Booke of the dayly parcells paid by the handis of my Lord Howard, bygonne the ij day of August in the xxij yere of kyng Edward the Fourthe.' Not a few of the particulars are interesting in an historical point of view, and among them may be reckoned a statement of the force of 1000 men, which the Duke of Norfolk 'graunted to the Kyng', *i.e.*, Richard III, in the first year of his reign. Here also is found much that is curious in relation to the stage, for we meet among others with an entry of money paid to the 'players' of the Duke of Gloucester, before he ascended the throne as Richard III. The 'Players of Cocksale', the 'Players of Chelmsford', and the 'Players of Lanam', or Lavenham, are also mentioned; and not among the least singular items is the entry of a covenant between the Duke of Norfolk and William Wastell of London, Harper, in which the latter undertakes to teach a boy (no doubt intended for the Duke's chapel) to sing and to play

relate to musicians, minstrels, and the children of the chapel. Others to the same purport might be extracted.

'Payd the waytes of London 12*d.*

Itm that I toke to the trompetes of my Lord of Glocester, 5*s.*

Itm that I toke my lady wiffs minstrels, 3*s.* 4*d.*

Itm I toke to Thomas the harpere, that my lord gaff hym, 20*d.*

Itm to Necolas, the synger, for wages, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Itm the same day my lord gaff to James the mynstrell, 20*d.*

Itm be my ladys handes to my Lord Mares mynstrells, 3*s.* 4*d.*

Itm to the menstrellis for mendyng of a lewte, 2*s.* 4*d.*

The Children of the Chappel. Itm paid to Steven Mortimer for making of their doblets, 3*s.*

Itm for 4 peere of hosen for the children of the Chappel, 6*s.*

Itm my Lord payd for 4 bonetts for the same chyldryn of the chappell, 2*s.* 8*d.*'

upon the harp. Disguisings, and rewards for minstrels are also noticed in this account-book, which seems to have been carefully inspected by 'Jocky of Norfolk' himself, whose handwriting is in several places to be found in it.[1]

[1] Malone makes no mention of 'players' (excepting in the case of the 'City Actors' in the reign of Edw. IV spoken of by Stow) as a distinct and recognized occupation prior to the time of Henry VII, who, he justly remarks, had a royal company (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 43). Richard III, when Duke of Gloucester, had, as we see above, a company of 'players', and in all probability, he kept up the establishment when he usurped the throne. The names of the Duke of Norfolk's 'players' were these: John Hobbis, Thomas Pout, —— Burges, and Richard Newman, and there are also entries for the cost of making doublets for them. The same MS. gives the following as the *nomina puerorum Capellæ* of Lord Oxford, who, we shall hereafter observe, very early in the reign of Henry VII, had a company of 'players', and perhaps the boys of the chapel sometimes acted with them:—John Herbet, William Holcott, John Holme, Thomas Alderson, Roger Beston, James Hoggys, Jorge Cornere, John Feney, Ric. Robkyn, John Bendysh, Thomas Crowde, and Thomas Ordell. The ensuing quotations from John Lord Howard's *Household-book*, from 22 Edw. IV to 6 Henry VII, will be read with interest.

'Itm on Crystemas day' [22 Edw. IV] 'my lord gaff to 4 pleyeres of my lord of Gloucestres, 10*s*.

Itm the same day my lord gaff to 4 pleyers of Cocksale, 3*s*. 4*d*.

Itm the fyrst day of Jenever, & the 22 yere of the Kyng, my Lord gave to them of the Chapell, be the hands of Bawdwyn, 13*s*. 4*d*.

Itm to the mynstrells the same day, 2*s*.

Itm the same daye my Lord made covenaunt with William Wastell of London, Harper: he shall have the sone of John Colet of Colchester, Harper, for a yere to teache hym how to harpe & to synge, for the which techynge my lord shall geve hym 13*s*. 4*d*. and a gown, wherof my lord to hym in ernest, 6*s*. 8*d*. and at the ende of the yere he shall have the remnaunt & his gown, and he is bound be endenture to my lord to performe the covenaunts before wreten.

Itm to an Arper that playde befor my lords grace, 20*d*.

Itm payd to my lord of Arundels mynstrellys, the 20 day of Septembre Anno 6 R. H. VII, 10*s*.

The following minute regulations regarding the minstrels and children of the chapel of Edward IV, are from a MS. in the British Museum.[1]

'Mynstrells 14; whereof one is verger, that directeth them all in festivall daies to their stations, to blowings, pipings, to such officers as must be warned to prepare for the King and his household att meate and supper; to be the more readie on all services, and all thus sytting in the hall togeather; wherof some use trumpetts, some shalmes, some small pipes: some are stringemen, coming to the court at five feastes of the yeere &c. and clothyng with the household, wynter and sommer, at 20*s.* a peece and lyverie at Court. They are to blowe to supper and other revells used at chaundry, and allwaie two of theis persons to continue in Court in wages, being put to warne at the King's rideing, when he goeth to horseback, as it shall require: And likewise the King will not for his worshipp that his minstrells be too presumptious, nor too familiar to aske any reward of the lord of the land. Children of the Chappell 8, founden by the King's Jewell Howse for all things that belong to their apparell, by the oversight of the Deane, or the Mr. of the songe, assynde to teache them &c.; & he to

Itm payd for settyng of a pese on the organs the sayd day, 8*d.*

Itm stuff for dysgysars on saynt Stevens day, Anno 6 Henry VII, 16*d.*

Itm payd for 18 yards of lynen cloth that M. Wynthorpe had for dysgysyng, at 4*d.* the yard, the 20 day of December, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Itm payd the second day of Januar, A°. 6 H. VII, to John Long, when he went to London for the dysgysing stuff, for his costs, 20*d.*

Itm payd to the players at Chemsford the 20 day of December, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Wages to the chyldren of the Chapell. Itm the same day my̆ lord paied to Agnes Banyerd that she leid owt for 3 chyldren of the chapell to howsell them with all, that is to say gret Dyke, Edward Cherry, 6*d.* Item to Holt, 4*d.* &c. 18*d.*

Itm in reward to the players of Lanam 40*s.*'

[1] *MSS. Harl.* No. 610.

drawe theis children as well in schoole of facet, as in songe, organies or such other vertues &c. Allso when they be growen to the age of 18 yeres, and then theire voyces be chaunged, they cannot be preferred in this chappell, nor within this Court, the nomber being full ; then yf they will absent, the King signeth onelie such child to a colledge of Oxford or Cambridge of the King's foundacion, there to be in findeinge and study sufficientlie, till the King otherwise list to advance him.'[1]

The 'Master of the Song assigned to teach' the children of the Chapel in 1467, was Henry Abyndon; and in 1482, Gilbert Banastre,[2] who each had an annual salary of 40 marks. These facts appear by the Acts of Resumption of those years, from which the above musical instructors are excepted.

We learn also from *Harl. MS.* No. 610, that the charge of the King's *Garçons du Capell* was £80 *per annum.* In the reign of Edward IV (the precise year is not mentioned), Robert Grene, minstrel, and John Hawkyns, minstrel, each

[1] On the 4th of April, 1469, Edward IV constituted the following minstrels attending the Court *unum corpus et una communitas perpetua:*— Walter Haliday (Marescallus), John Cliff, Robert Marshall, Thomas Grene, Thomas Calthorn, William Cliff, William Christean, William Eynesham ; and the instrument recites the injury done to them by pretenders who travelled about the kingdom receiving rewards as the King's Minstrels. Rymer's *Fœd.*, v, Part II, p. 169. *Harl. MS.* No. 642, a copy of the household regulations of Edw. IV, states that the wages of the minstrels was 4½d. per day, and that they were allowed two servants to carry their instruments. Of the Children of the Chapel, it is said, that when journeying with the King on progress, they were to be allowed fourpence per day for horse-hire : six of them, with the master, were to accompany the King.

[2] Gilbert Banastre, or Banister, was a poet of some note in his day, and among other things wrote *The Miracle of St. Thomas.* Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ii, 449, edit. 8vo.

obtained grants of ten marks a year out of the Crown lands ;[1] and we shall see that they continued in the same capacity in the early part of the reign of Henry VII.

Hitherto, there is no reason for supposing that the musicians and singers employed by the court were foreigners, but in the reign of Richard III a number of Austrian and Bavarian minstrels were in this country. In October 1483, A. D. 1483. Henryke Hes, Hans Hes, and Mykell Yonger, 'minstrels', had a letter of passage to return to the Duke of Austria, their master; and in March of the same year, a permission of the like kind was given for Conrad Snyth and Peter Skeydell, 'minstrels', to return to the Duke of Bavaria.[2]

Thus we see that Richard III, when Duke of Gloucester, entertained a company of players as his servants, and probably gave great encouragement to the science of music. There exists a remarkable proof of his partiality to it; for, on the 16th of September, in the second year of his reign, he issued a most arbitrary order for impressing singing men and children, even from cathedrals, colleges, chapels, and houses of religion, for the purpose of affording amusement.[3]

[1] *Harl. MSS.*, No. 433. [2] *Harl. MSS.*, No. 433.

[3] Subsequent monarchs were not reluctant to follow the precedent thus, perhaps, for the first time set. But *vide* Rym. *Fœd.*, v, Pt. II, 66. The instrument itself, a warrant to John Melyonek, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, is extant in *Harl. MS.*, No 433. It is as follows:—

'Ric. &c. To all and every our subjects, as well spirituell as temporell, thise letters hering or seeing, greeting. We let you wite, that for the confidence and trust we have in our trusty and welbeloved servaunt, John Melyonek, one of the gentilmen of our chapell, and knowing also his expert habilitie and connyng in the science of musique, have licenced him, and by thise presents licence and give him auctoritie, that within all places in this our reame, as well cathedral churches, coliges, chappells, houses of relegion, and all other franchised and exempt places, as elliswhere, our colege roial at Wyndesor reserved and exept, may take and

Richard III seems also to have been the first of our kings who appointed a royal Bear-ward, to diversify the court entertainments; and the warrant appointing John Brown to this office especially recites the 'diligent service' he had done the King, as the ground for granting him the privilege of wandering about the country with his bears and apes, and receiving the 'loving benevolences and favours' of the people.[1]

We learn from Fitzstephen that, as early as the reign of Henry II, the baiting of bears by dogs was a popular game in London; but, if a keeper of the King's bears and apes, even in the Tower of London, were known before the reign of Edward I, we are aware of no earlier record of his existence as a licensed

sease, for us and in our name, al such singing men and children, being expart in the said science of musique, as he can finde, and think sufficient and able to do us service. Wherfore, &c. Yeven, &c., at Notingham, the xvj day of September. A° secundo.'

[1] *Harl. MSS.*, No. 433. We make no apology for quoting this document, connected as it is with the rude amusements of the time:—

'Ric. &c., &c. To all Maires, Shireffs, Bailliefs, Constables, and other oure true liegemen and subgects, to whom these oure present letters shall come greting. Knowe ye that for the good, true and diligent service which our trusty servant and Bare Ward, John Broune, this berer, hath doone unto us, Wee have made, ordeyned and constituted, and by these presents make, ordeyne, and constitute, the said John Broune, Maister, Guyder, and Ruler of all our Beres and Apes to us apperteyning or in any wise belonging within this our realme of England and Wales. Wherfore we streitly chardge and commaund you, that ye in no wise unquiete, moleste, vexe, or trouble him, nor his servaunts, kepers of our said Beres and Apes, but to him, and the keper of our said game for our pleasure, ye shew your lovyng benyvolences and favors, and them curtesly ressarve and entreate for your reasonable money payements, not suffering any manner persone, in that ye goodly may, otherwise to vexe, moleste or greve, than shall appertene and be thought convenyent and resonable in that parte; as ye entende to please us and to eschewe the contrarie. Yoven, &c., the vj day of January, A° primo.'

court officer. At subsequent periods he is constantly mentioned in that capacity.

It perhaps deserves remark, that in a proclamation, issued on the 7th of May, 1485, for the encouragement of shooting with the long bow, enumerating various 'inhibited disports', theatrical amusements are not referred to: the games forbidden by name are, 'carding, dising, boling, playeng at tenys, coyting, and pikking'. A similar proclamation had been issued by Edward III, in 1349, and by Richard II, in 1389: but, at that early date, any notice of regular dramatic performances could not be expected.[1]

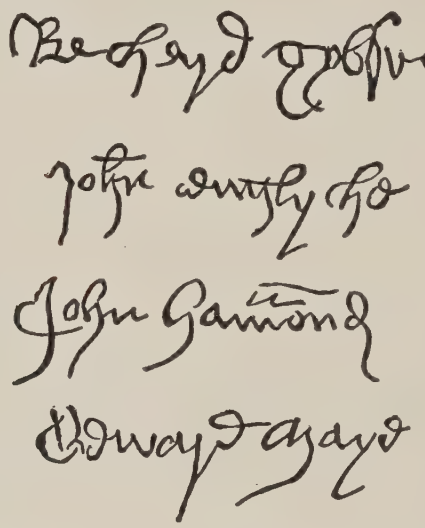
In the reign of Henry VII, dramatic performances must have been frequent in all parts of England. The King had two distinct sets of players; his 'players of interludes', and the Gentlemen of the Chapel, who appear to have performed always during the festivities of Christmas, and perhaps at other seasons. In the Chapter-house, Westminster, was an unbound MS. book of payments out of the Exchequer, beginning at Michaelmas, 9 Henry VII, in the hand-writing of a person of the name of Stokes, who was one of the Tellers under Lord Dynham, the Lord Treasurer: it contains an entry of the precise sum paid half-yearly to John English, Edward Maye, Richard Gibson, and John Hammond, who are styled the 'players of the King's interludes'; and they signed with their own hands the receipt for the money. This remarkable

A. D. 1485.

[1] Henry VIII, on 5th of May, 1526, and December 4th, 1528, issued orders of the same tenor. The games forbidden by him were 'bowling, closshe, coyting, loggetting, playing at tenys, dice, cards, and tables'. On the 18th of June, 34 Henry VIII, William Griffith obtained a licence under the privy seal to keep 'a tennys play' for the amusement of foreigners; but the King's natural born subjects are expressly forbidden, in the instrument, to frequent this tennis-court. The original document was in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

and novel record (the earliest we have met with) is in the following form, under the date of Easter Term, 1494.

'xvij Die Maij. John Englissh, Edwardo Maye, Rico Gibbeson, & John Hammond, Lusoribus Regis, alias, in lingua Anglicana, *les pleyars of the kyngs enterluds*, de feodis suis V mrc ꝑ Ann: le home, per lre Regis de privato Sigillo dormant de termino Michaelis alt: pte rec: denar: separatim ꝑ manus proprias ——— x mrc.



These four persons (we give their signatures in fac-simile) were, in fact, 'the King's players', of whom Malone thought himself fortunate to discover a mere notice, under that appellation, in a book in the Remembrancer's office:[1] by what is given above, we not only learn their names, but the precise amount of their salary and the mode in which it was paid; and in order that the matter should be clearly understood, the

[1] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 43. Mr. Ouvry, late President of the Society of Antiquaries, is in possession of an original receipt on behalf of Gibson, English, May, and Hammond for their salaries, but it is only signed by May and English for themselves and their fellows: original documents of this kind are of course extremely rare; and the four men are there called '*lusores regis*, players of the King's enterludes'.

words *Lusoribus Regis* being liable to mis-interpretation, it is added, that they were called in English the 'players of the King's interludes'. Entries to the same persons are found in the same book every half year: each man [*homme*] was allowed five marks or 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum; and at Michaelmas and and Easter, the four players received half the sum of twenty marks, to which they were entitled for the whole year. Richard Gibson, whose name will hereafter frequently occur, was probably at the head of the company; and although he is not introduced first in the entry, his name stands first among the signatures. In the *Lansdown Collection of MSS.*[1] is one with the following title, *A Declaration of monies paid into and disbursed out of the Exchequer, from Easter the* 20 *Henry VII to Easter* 21 *Henry VIII*, which contains the following entry, where Gibson (perhaps as leader) only is named: — 'To Richard Gibson, and other the Kings plaiers, for their annuity for one year, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*'

John English, however, was doubtless a performer of eminence; and when Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII, was sent into Scotland on her marriage with James IV, he was the principal member of a company of players forming part of the retinue of the Princess.[2] He continued to receive his salary of five marks, or 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, after Henry VIII came to the crown, and in documents of that reign he is individually mentioned. Some time after the birth of Prince Arthur, in 1486, there was a company of performers under the name of 'the Prince's Players', who were required in their turn to contribute to the amusement of the Court.

Before we leave the book of Exchequer payments deposited in the Chapter-house, it may be fit to state that it also contains items of half-yearly payments to the King's and Queen's minstrels. A musician of the name of Alexander Mason, under

[1] No. 156. [2] Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, iii, 90.

the title of *Marescallus Ministrallorum*, was at the head of the King's minstrels at Easter 1494;[1] but at Easter 1495, he seems to have been superseded by Henry Glasebury, who received £9 1*s.* 10*d.* in part payment of £17 11*s.* 6*d.* allowed him and three musical associates for the whole year. The entry regarding the Queen's minstrels specifies their names, *viz.*, John Fawkes, Marcus Lorydon, and Jenyn Markassen: they were allowed £10 a year for their salaries. In the same book is a charge of £2 to a person called 'Hugo Standish, Notary', for assisting the preparations *ad certos revelliones*, at Whitehall, on the 30th June, 1496. Disbursements at various dates are also entered for silks, velvets, cloth of gold, etc., which were probably used for the 'disguisings' at Court; but the items are not sufficiently explicit to enable us to decide that they were actually employed for such a purpose: they never amount in any one sum to more than £25.

This valuable account-book is deficient in information regarding the officers and ministers of the Royal Chapel, although it mentions nearly all the other persons of the household. It is ascertained, however, from other sources, that, during the twelve days of Christmas, some of the Gentlemen of the Chapel played before the King and his Court, and received rewards under the name of 'the players of the Chapel', as distinguished from the King's and Prince's companies of 'players of interludes'. The master of the children of the Chapel was a distinguished musician, of the name of William

[1] The names of the other minstrels are found in another volume of payments from the Exchequer, in the 1st, 2nd, 7th, and 8th years of Henry VII, also preserved in the Chapter-house: they were Robert Greene, John Hawkyns, Thomas May, William Greene, Henry Swayn, Thomas Spence, and William Davy. Two other minstrels, named Marcus Jaket and William Elder, were separately paid, and do not seem to have belonged to the company under the *Marescallus Ministrallorum*.

Cornyshe, who, if not a poet, wrote some rhymes, which he called *A Treatise between Trowth and Enformation*,[1] and who signed several of the receipts for payments from the Exchequer, as evidenced by the records formerly in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

One principal source of our knowledge of the progress of theatrical amusements at this period is the Household-books of Henry VII, yet preserved, which extend from the year 1492 to 1509. An account of the disbursements by and for his Queen has also been discovered, which throws some additional light upon the subject. Hence we find, that besides the three royal establishments of actors already mentioned, the players of the Duke of Buckingham and of the Earls of Oxford and Northumberland performed at court, and received various rewards. It appears, likewise, on the same authority, that separate companies of players were attached to the following places: London, Coventry, Wycombe, Mile-end, Wymborn

[1] In 1504, in consequence, as he asserts, of false information given by an enemy, Cornyshe was confined in the Fleet Prison; and he there wrote the 'Treatise' noticed in the text, in order to restore himself to favour with 'King Harry', as he familiarly calls the sovereign. It was, no doubt, attended by the desired result, for, not very long afterwards, his name occurs again among the Gentlemen of the Chapel who played before the King. In 1530, was published a Collection of twenty part-songs, with the Score, by Cornyshe and seven others.—See *Ritson's Ancient Songs*, i, 73, new edit. We shall have occasion to say more about Cornyshe hereafter: he was a person of considerable note in his day, and Stow, in the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII, thus speaks of him: *Chron.*, p. 816:—

'In the which time many opprobrious rimes in despite of them (Empson and Dudley) were made, whereof I have seene some, especiallie one against Sir Richard Empson, made by Cornish of the kinge's chappell at the request of the earle of Kent, forsomuch as the saide Empson had deceived him of a parte of his lande, and in sinister waies had informed the king of him, that he was long holden under, and put to great hinderance.'

Minster, and Kingston.[1] The players of Essex were twice paid, and French players appeared the same number of times before the King: perhaps (as Malone[2] has remarked) the French players had been brought into England by Henry VII, who resided abroad from 1471 to 1485. The 'Minstrels of France' are also mentioned; 'disguisings', 'revells', and 'plays' in the hall and before the King, are often entered; Walter Alwyn, —— Peche (who filled the office of court-fool), John Atkinson, Jaques Haute, —— Wentworth, and Lewis Adam, being successively employed to prepare and superintend court entertainments. In the seventh and tenth years of Henry VII, a person of the name of Ringley filled the office of Abbot of Misrule: it is afterwards

[1] Mile-end Green seems to have been long afterwards a favourite place for theatrical and other exhibitions. In the play of 'the *Three Lordes and Three Ladies of London*', printed in 1590, Policy thus addresses Pomp:—

'Lord Pomp, let nothing that's magnificall,
Or that may tend to London's graceful state,
Be unperfourmed—as showes and solemne feastes,
Watches in armour, triumphes, cresset-lightes,
Bonefiers, belles, and peales of ordinance.
And, Pleasure, see that plaies be published,
Maie-games & maskes with mirth and minstrelsie,
Pageants and school-feastes, beares and puppit-plaies:
My selfe will muster upon *Mile-end-greene*,
As though we saw, & feard not to be seene.'

This passage is a singular enumeration of the popular out-door amusements of the time. The drama itself was considerably older than the date of publication.

[2] Malone seems to have seen no more of this curious register than is quoted by Dr. Henry in the appendix to Book vi of his *History of Britain*: the extracts there given apply only to the ninth and thirteenth years of the reign of Henry VII. He therefore speaks only of 'the French players', 'the players of London', 'the king's players', and 'the players that begged by the way'.

usually designated as the Lordship of Misrule,[1] and then the duties were discharged by William Wynnesbury.

There are evidently some differences in the accounts of the domestic expenses of the King and royal family at this period. The volumes preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, appear to be fair and official copies of books kept by individuals belonging to separate departments; and the entries in the latter are sometimes more circumstantial than in the former. I have met with a small one, kept by Robert Fouler, including only one year, viz., from October, 17 Henry VII, to October, 18 Henry VII, which contains the following items: it will be observed presently, that they do not precisely accord with the larger books, where it was meant that the details should be entered in a more regular and permanent shape. A. D. 1502.

'Oct. 26.—Itm, paid to John Atkynson for the disguysyngs, 53*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.*

'Itm, to Cornysshe for 3 pagents, 20*l.*

'Itm, to John Englishe for his pagent, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

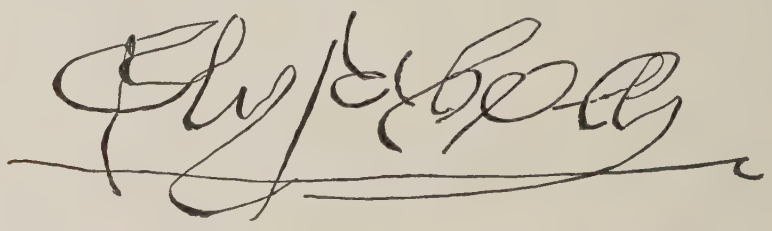
'Jany. 1.—Itm, to the Kinges players, over 40*s.* paid by Thomas Trollop, 20*s.*'

Each pageant was, no doubt, a distinct play, and 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was the sum allowed on the performance of every piece. What office Fouler filled is not stated, but the same players were paid from two different sources, of one of which he had the control, and Thomas Trollop of the other.

Another valuable document, of a similar description, was preserved at the Chapter-house, Westminster, viz., the book of the expenses of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII, kept by a

[1] The terms Abbot and Lord of Misrule seem to have been used indifferently towards the close of the reign of Henry VII; and at Christmas 1509, Wynnesbury is again called 'abbot of Misrule'.

person of the name of Richard Decons, for one year, beginning the 24th March 1502; and it is authenticated by the Queen's rare signature, of which the following is a fac-simile,



upon every page in the earlier part of the time. She seems to have given separate rewards to players, when they afforded her unusual satisfaction; and to have paid for the coats of various minstrels and trumpeters at a 'disguising', whether they were attached to herself, to the King, or to some of the nobility. The details of the information procured from the various sources above enumerated is thrown into a note; and we apprehend that it will not be found too long, although it wander a little from the immediate subject of inquiry, since it affords a clear insight into the manners and amusements of the times.[1]

[1] The following quotations are selected from many more in the *Household Book of Henry VII*, from the seventh to the twentieth years of his reign, both inclusive, formerly in the Chapter-house, Westminster:—

7 H. VII.—Jan. 1. To my Lorde of Oxon pleyers, in rewarde, 1*l.*
Feb. 15. To Wat Alyn [Walter Alwyn] in full payment for the disguysing made at Xmas, 14*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
Oct. 24. To Ringley Abbot of Misrule, 5*l.*
Jan. 1. To Newark for making of a song, 1*l.*
„ 7. To my Lorde of Northumberlande Pleyers in rewarde, 1*l.*

8 H. VII.—Sep. 24. To hym that had his Bull baytid, in rewarde, 10*s.*
Nov. 16. To Walter Alwyn for the Revelles at Cristmas, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Warton has expressed an opinion that 'plays on general subjects were no uncommon mode of entertainment in the

8 H. VII.—Jan. 1. To four Pleyers of Essex in rewarde, 1*l.*
To the Pleyers of Wymborne Minster, 1*l.*
„ 6. To the Frenche Pleyers for a rewarde, 1*l.*
To the King's Pleyers for a rewarde, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
„ 15. To my Lord of Bedfordes Tumbler in rewarde, 13*s.* 4*d.*
Feb. 15. To Walt. Alwyn in full payment for the disguysing made at Xmas, 14*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
June 1. To Peche for the disguysing in rewarde, 26*l.* 14*s.*
9 H. VII.—Dec. 31. To 3 Pleyers of Wycombe in rewarde, 13*s.* 4*d.*
Jan. 4. To the Frenshe Pleyers in rewarde, 2*l.*
Feb. 13. To Jaks Haute in full payment of his bill for his disguysings, 13*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*
„ 20. To a Walsheman for making of a ryme, 10*s.*
To the tumbler upon the rope in rewarde, 3*s.* 4*d.*
10 H. VII.—Nov. 27. To Hampton of Woucestre for making of balades, in rewarde, 1*l.*
Delivered to Jakes Haute in partye payment for the disguysing, 10*l.*
Dec. 23. To Jakes Haute for the disguysing, 10*l.*
To two Pleyes in the Hall, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
Jan. 10. To Ringley, Abbot of Misrule, in rewarde, 2*l.*
„ 24. To Jakes Haute in full payment for the disguysing to Estermes, 6*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*
Feb. 7. To my Lord Suff, my Lord Essex, my Lord Willm and other for the disguysing, 40*l.*
May 9. To an Italian, a poete, 1*l.*
11 H. VII.—Oct. 13. To Master Peter, the Poete, for a Currer of Florence in rewarde, 1*l.*
Jan. 7. To a litel mayden that daunceth, 12*l.*
12 H. VII.—Dec. 3. To my lady the King's moder poete, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
Feb. 4. To my Lord Prince poete in rewarde, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
Aug. 11. To my Lord of Oxon Bereward, 4*s.*
To my Lord of Oxon Joculer, 6*s.* 8*d.*
13 H. VII.—Aug. 11. For three stryng mynstrells wagis, 5*l.*
July 20. To the pleyers of London in rewarde, 10*s.*

royal palaces of England, at least in the commencement of the fifteenth century'; and he lays particular stress upon the

13 H. VII.—July 20. To a tumbler at my Lord of Bathes, 1*l.*
14 H. VII.—June 14. To the Maygame at Grenewiche, 4*s.*
To the pleyers with Marvells, 4*l.*
To the Printers at Westminster, 1*l.*
15 H. VII.—Dec. 31. To a Spanyard that tumbled before the King in rewarde, 10*s.*
16 H. VII.—July 23. To John Atkinson in full payment of his reckenings for the disguysings, 37*l.* 17*s.* 4½*d.*
Aug. 6. To the Pleyers at Myles End, 3*s.* 4*d.*
17 H. VII.—Dec. 4. To the Rymer of Scotland in rewarde, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
Jan. 7. To John Englishe the Pleyer, 10*s.*
June 18. To Anthony Verard [printer] for 2 bokes called the gardyn of helth, 6*l.*
18 H. VII.—Jan. 2. To the Abbot of Mysrule in rewarde, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
To the Pleyers of Essex in rewarde, 1*l.*
„ 20. To Lawrence, Master of the Tumblers, 5*l.*
April 12. To Lewes Adam that made disguysings, 10*l.*
Nov. 11. To Richard Pynson the Prynter in rewarde, 1*l.*
19 H. VII.—Jan. 11. To litell mayden the tumbler, 1*l.*
To Vonecorps the tumbler in rewarde, 1*l.*
Oct. 4. To Wat the luter, that played the fole, 13*s.* 4d.
20 H. VII.—Jan. 12. To the Abbot of Mysrule in rewarde, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
May 20. To the Players of Kingeston toward the bilding of the churche steple, in almasse, 3*s.* 4*d.*
July 25. To the Gentylmen of the King's chapell to drynke with a bucke, 2*l.*

It is not always easy to fix the precise dates of these payments, nor is it of much consequence that they should be given, as they cannot add to the facts. Among the entries without date may be mentioned 6*s.* 8*d.* paid 'to a preste that wrestled', and 10*l.* paid 'to the Quenes grace for the disguysing'.

The subsequent quotations are from a folio in the Chapter-house, Westminster, with the following title, *The Kyngs boke of paymentis, begynnyng primo die Octi Ao* 21 *Regis Henrici VIImi*.

21 H. VII.—Jan. 1. To the Styll Mynstrells, 4*l.*
To the Quenes Mynstrells in rewarde, 2*l.*

word 'plays' used in 'an old memoir of shews and ceremonies' at Court in 1489. It must be remarked, however, that the

21 H. VII.—Jan. 1. To Master Barnard the blynde Poyett, 5*l.*
To the players that played afore the Lord Stewarde in the Hall opon Sonday nyght, 6*s.* 8*d.*
To my lorde Princes players that played in hall on new-yeres even, 10*s.*
To Stephen Hawse for a ballet that he gave to the kings grace in rewarde, 10*s.*
To the four players of the kings chapell, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
To the Lorde of mysrule in rewarde, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
Feb. 20. To the strange Mynstrells that played afore the king in rewarde, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
To Guyllam the prenter of bokes in rewarde, 1*l.*
May 22. For settyng uppe of the May-pole at Westm., 6*s.* 8*d.*
To 5 straunge Mynstrells that played afore the King in rewarde, 2*l.*
For prentyng of 1000 Orisons, at 1*d. ob* the pece, for masse bokes, 6*l.* 5*s.*

22 H. VII.—Dec. 25. To the Players that played affore the Lord Stewarde in the Hall opon Tewesday nyght, 10*s.*
To Pynson that gave the king a boke, 6*s.* 8*d.*
Jan. 16. To 4 players of the Chapell that played affore the king opon 12th day at nyght, 2*l.*
„ 23. To the Lorde of mysrule for his besynes in Cristenmes in rewarde, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
May 11. To the Bereward in rewarde, 6*s.* 8*d.*

23 H. VII.—Oct. 4. To 6 Mynstrells of Fraunce that played affore the kings grace at Habyngdon, 2*l.*
Dec. 31. To master Wentworth towards the making of a disguysing for a moryce, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
Jan. 2. To master Empson for the men of London, 2*l.*
„ 7. To the 5 gentelmen of the King's Chapell that played in the Hall opon 12th nyght affore the kings grace in rewarde, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
To the Lorde of mysrule in rewarde for his besynes in Crestenmes holydays, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

same appellation of 'plays' was often given to the old pageants founded upon the stories of the Bible, in the reign of Henry

24 H. VII.—Dec. 19. To Wynnesbury towards the payment of his lordship of mysrule, 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To Mr. Kyte Cornisshe and other of the chapell that played affore the king at Richmounte, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Jan. 2. To my lord of Buckingham's pleyers that playd in the Hall at Grenewich, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Jan. 7. To diverse of the King's chapell that played affore the King opon 12th nyght, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

To the King's players in rewarde, 2*l.*

To the Abbot of Mysrule, in full payment for his besynes in the Cristemes tyde, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

The book of expenses of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII, is thus headed: 'Thies are the paymentes made by Ricard Decons from 24th day of Marche Anno xvij^{no} unto ——'; the date to which the account was carried, March xviij^{mo} Henry VII, not having been inserted. It contains the items which follow:—

March 24. Delivered to John Goose my lord of York's fole, in rewarde for bringing a carppe to the Quene, 1*s.*

April 6. To William Worthy, otherwise called Phip, for the bourde of William the quenes fole for the moneth of March, 2*s.*

Aug. 28. To the Quenes mynstrells in rewarde, 2*l.*

Oct. 16. To my lady Bray for money by hur geven in rewarde to a Disare that played the Sheppert before the quene, 3*s.* 4*d.*

Dec. 7. To Robert Matheue, taillor, for making of 4 coots of white and grene sarcenet for 4 of the Kinges Mynstrells against the dysguysing in the last yere last passed, at 2*s.* the cote, 8*s.* Itm for making of 4 cots of white and green sarcenet for 4 of the Kinges trumpetts, at 2*s.* the cote, 8*s.* And for making of 3 cots of sarcenet for 3 mynstrells, oon my lord princes, another of my lord of Yorkes, and the third of the Duke of Bukkingham, at 2*s.* the cote, 6*s.* Sma, 1*l.* 2*s.*

Dec. 25. To Cornisshe for setting of carrall upon Cristmas day in rewarde, 13*s.* 4*d.*

To the Quene of Scotts Mynstrells, 10*s.*

VI, if not earlier; so that no argument can be drawn from the employment of that term in the time of Henry VII.[1] The *Ludus Coventriæ*, the MS. of which was written in the reign of Henry VI, is called a 'play' in the speech of the Vexillator; and the *Morals* in the *Macro MS.*, the transcript of which is of about the same date, are also there called 'plays'. In fact, according to all the testimony that has yet been procured, 'plays on general subjects' were a later invention—unknown, even in Latin, until the reign of Henry VIII. Polidore Virgil (who published the three first books of his work *De Rerum Inventoribus*, in 1449) uses the word *comœdias*, as applied to the vernacular dramatic representations in his time; but he explains it by stating distinctly that he refers to the *vitas divorum ac martyria*, which were recited *in templis*.[2] The ex-

Jan. 20. To a mayde that came out of Spayne and daunced before the Quene in rewarde, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Geven on New yere's day—

To the Quenes Mynstrells, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To the Lorde of Mysrule, 1*l.*

To the Mynysters of the Kinges chapell, 2*l.*

To my Lord prive sealls foole, 3*s.* 4*d.*

[1] It is found in the folio account book of the expenses of Thetford Priory, from the reign of Edward IV to the 31st of Henry VIII. The mention of 'plays' and 'players' does not begin until the 13th of Henry VII; but 'Minstrels' and 'Waytes' are often spoken of there as receiving rewards from the convent. The following entries, regarding 'plays' and 'players', occur between the 13th and 23rd of Henry VII:—

13 Henry VII.—Itm sol. in regard 12 capital plays, 4*s.*

Itm sol. to menstrell and pleyers in festo Epiphie, 2*s.*

19 Henry VII.—Itm sol. to the play of Mydenale, 12*d.*

21 Henry VII.—Itm sol. in regard *lusoribus* et menstrall, 17*d.*

23 Henry VII.—Itm sol. in regard *lusoribus* div. vices, 3*s.* 4*d.*

Itm sol. in regard to Ixworth play, 16*d.*

Itm sol. in regard to Schelfanger play, 4*d.*

[2] Lib. v, c. 2.

tracts from the books of payments of Henry VII show, that he saw the 'Marvells' or Miracle-plays at Coventry, and that the players of 'Wymborne Minster' acted before him a piece, doubtless of the same description: the most minute of the entries in the Household-books of that reign speak of 'pageants' exhibited at Court in 1502. At that date a 'pageant' was only another name for a play; and the greatest improvement at which the dramatic art had yet arrived was the performance of Morals. Warton has himself noticed the representation of the Miracle-play called *Christi Decensus ad Inferos*, before Henry VII, in 1487, by the *Pueri Eleemosynarii* of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory.[1] When we read in the statement of the expenses of the Queen in this reign, that she gave a reward to 'a Dysare', for playing 'the Sheppert', the meaning may be that this *Disour*, or jest-teller, performed the part of one of the shepherds, when the Miracle-play of the appearance of the star in the east was acted at Court in October 1502. It was, perhaps, one of the four 'pageants' then exhibited by Cornyshe and English, mentioned in the quotations from the *Household-book of Henry VII*, from October 1502, to October 1503.[2]

[1] Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 24) has pointed out the error Warton committed in supposing that this was the only instance of choir-boys performing Miracle-plays.

[2] A Moral by Skelton, called *The Nigramansir*, was played before Henry VII at Woodstock, prior to 1504, when it was printed. This piece seems now unfortunately lost; but Warton saw it in the collection of Collins, the poet, and he has left the following account of it in his *Hist. Engl. Poet.*, iii, 185, edit. 8vo:—

'I cannot quit Skelton, of whom I yet fear too much has been already said, without restoring to the public notice a play, or Morality, written by him, not recited in any catalogue of his works, or annals of English typography; and, I believe, at present totally unknown to the antiquarians in this sort of literature. It is, *The Nigramansir, a morall Enterlude and*

In Hearne's edition of *Leland's Collectanea*, 1770,[1] Warton found an old memoir of shews and ceremonies at court, in 1489. The manuscript itself is in the Cottonian Library, but Hearne omitted the particular reference. Malone, was therefore obliged to content himself with Hearne's account of it; but we were fortunate enough to meet with it in the British

a pithie, written by Maister Skelton laureate, and plaid before the king and other estatys at Woodstoke on Palme Sunday. In was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in a thin quarto, in the year 1504. It must have been presented before King Henry VII at the royal manor or palace at Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, now destroyed. The characters are a Necromancer or Conjuror, the Devil, a Notary Public, Simonie, and Philargyria or Avarice. It is partly a satire on some abuses in the church; yet not without a due regard to decency and an apparent respect for the dignity of the audience. The story or plot is the trial of Simony and Avarice: the Devil is the judge, and the Notary Public acts as an assessor or scribe. The prisoners, as we may suppose, are found guilty, and are ordered into hell immediately. There is no sort of propriety in calling this play The Necromancer; for the only business and use of this character is to open the subject in a long prologue, to evoke the Devil, and summon the court. The Devil kicks the Necromancer for waking him so soon in the morning: a proof that this drama was performed in the morning, perhaps in the chapel of the palace. A variety of measures, with shreds of Latin and French, are used; but the Devil speaks in the octave stanza. One of the stage-directions is *Enter Balsebub with a berde.* To make him both frightful and ridiculous, the Devil was most commonly introduced on the stage wearing a vizard with an immense beard. Phylargyria quotes Seneca and St. Austin; and Simony offers the Devil a bribe. The Devil rejects her offer with much indignation; and swears by the *foule Eumenides*, and the hoary beard of Charon, that she shall be well fried and roasted in the unfathomable sulphur of Cocytus, together with Mahomet, Pontius Pilate, the traitor Judas, and King Herod. The last scene is closed with a view of Hell, and a dance between the Devil and the Necromancer. The dance ended, the Devil trips up the Necromancer's heels, and disappears in fire and smoke.'

[1] Vol. iii, *Appendix*, p. 256.

Museum,[1] though after the minute details of the charge for Court entertainments at this period, already supplied from domestic accounts of the royal family, the information it contains sinks into comparative insignificance. As, however, it refers to a date not included in the Household-books, it deserves extracting. The author may be concluded to have been a herald, from the manner in which, on every occasion, he specifies the amount of the largesses given by the King, Queen, and nobility, to the officers at arms, either praising their liberality or blaming their parsimony. 'On the xiith day' (he says, speaking of the year 1489) 'the ambassatours of Spayne dyned at the Kyngs borde, and the officers of armez had ther largess as they were accustomed. This cristmas I saw no disgysyngs, & but right few plays; but there was an Abbot of misrule, that made much sport & did right well his office; and on the morn the King rode to Waltham forest a hunting.' Further on he tells us that on Candlemas-day 1490, 'at nyght the kyng, the qwene, and my ladye the kyngs moder came in to the Whit hall, & ther had a pley'; and during the festivities of Christmas he observes, 'on neweres day at nyght, there was a goodly disgysyng, and also this cristmas there were many & dyvers pleyes'.[2]

[1] It is *Cotton. MS. Julius B.* xii.

[2] We cannot refrain from giving in a note the following original, very particular, and curious account of this remarkable piece of royal pageantry, headed, 'the banquets and disguisings used at the entertaynment in Westminster Hall of Katherine, wife to Prince Arthur, eldest sonne of King Henry VII': it is from the original *MS. Harl.*, 69, and we know of no similar description of that period half so minute and picturesque, though a little confused :—

'The Queene, my Ladye the King's Mother, the Lady Princesse, with a goodly company of fresh ladyes and gentlewomen of the Court and realme awaiting on her, had made to the said Hall their repairall. And in this foresaid place when the K. and Q. had taken their noble seates

It has been seen, that while the King and Prince had three companies of actors, the custom among the nobility of keeping

under their clothes of estate, and every other Nobles were ordered in their roomes worshipfull and convenient, then began and entered this most goodly and pleasant disguising, convayed and showed in pageants proper and subtile ; of whom the first was a Castle right cunningly devised, sett upon certaine wheeles, and drawne into the said great hall of fower great beasts with chaines of gold. Two of the first beasts were lyons, one of them of gold and thother of silver : one of the other was a hart with guilt hornes, and the second of the same was an Ibeke, with every each of the which foure beasts were two men, one in the fore part, and another in the hinder part, secretly hid and apparelled, nothing seene but their leggs, and yet those were disguised after the proportion and kinde of the beasts that they were in. And thus this Castle was by the foure beasts properly conveyed from the nether part of the hall before the K. and Q., being in the upper part of the same hall. There were within the same Castle disguised viij goodly & fresh ladyes looking out of the windowes of the same, and in the foure corners of this Castle were iiii turretts, that is to say in every square one sett and appearing above height of it, in the which of every of these turretts was a little child apparelled like a maiden. And so all the foure children singing most sweetly and harmoniously in all the comming the length of the hall, till they came before the K. Ma^{tie}, who, when it had come, conveyed & set himself somewhat out of the waye, towards the one side of the hall.

'The second Pageant was a shippe in like wise sett upon wheeles without any leaders in sight, in right goodly apparell, having her mast toppes, sayles, and her tackling and all other apperteynances necessary unto a seemely vessell, as though it had been sayling in the sea, and so passed through the hall by the whole length till they came before the King somewhat besides the Castle. At the which time the Maskers of the shippe and their company, in their countenance, speaches, and demeanor, used and behaved themselves after the manner and guise of mariners, & there cast their anchors, somewhat besides the said Castle : in the which shippe there was a goodly and a faire ladye in her, apparelled like unto the Princesse of Spaine, out and from the said ship descended downe by a ladder two well beseene and goodly persons calling themselves Hope and Desire, passing towards the rehearsed Castle with their banners, in manner and forme as Ambassadors from Knights of

retainers of the same description had become very general. The players of Lord Ferrers, Lord Clifton, the Duke of Glo-

the Mount of Love unto the ladyes within the Castle, making a great instance in the behalfe of the said Knights for the intent to attaine the favour of the said Ladyes present; making their meanes and entreates as wooers & breakers of the maters of love betweene the Knights and the Ladyes: the said Ladyes gave their small answeare of utterly refuse, and knowledge of any such company, or that they were ever minded to the accomplishment of any such request, and plainely denyed their purpose and desire. The said two Embassadors, therwith taking great displeasure, shewed the said Ladyes that the Knights would for this unkind refusall make battayle and assault, so and in such wise to them & their Castle, that it should be grievous to abyde their power and malice.

'Incontinent came in the third Pageant in likeness of a great hill or mountaine, in whom there was inclosed viij goodly Knights with their banners spredd and displayed, naming themselves the Knights of the Mount of Love; the which passed through the said hall towards the King's grace and there they took their standing upon the other side of the shippe. And then these two Ambassadors departed to the Knights, being within the Mount, their M^rs^, shewing the disdaine and refusall with the whole circumstance of the same. So as they therwith not being content, with much malice and courageous minde, went a little from the said Mount with their banners displayed, and hastely sped them to the rehearsed Castle, which they forthwith assaulted so and in such wise that the Ladyes, yielding themselves, descended from the Castle and submitted themselves to the power, grace, and will of those noble Knights, being right freshly disguised, and the Ladyes also, fower of them after the English fashion, and the other foure after the manner of Spaine, daunced together divers and many goodly daunces, and in the tyme of their dauncing, the three Pageants, the Castle, the Shippe, and the Mountaine removed and departed the same wise: the disguisers rehersed, as well the Knights as the Ladyes, after certaine leasure of their solace & disport avoyded, and vanished out of their sight and presence. And then came downe the L. Prince and the Lady Cecill & daunced two baas daunces and departed up againe, the L. Prince to the King and the Lady Cecill to the Queene. Eftsoones the Lady Princesse, and one of her ladyes with her, in apparell after the Spanish guise, came downe, there dauncing other two baas daunces, and departed againe bothe up to the

cester (afterwards Richard III), and of the first Duke of Norfolk, have been before noticed, and to these are now to be added (besides the companies of performers attached to particular towns and cities) the players of Lords Oxford, Northumberland and Buckingham. Acting, in fact, had become an ordinary occupation in 1509; but notwithstanding the patronage extended to players by the nobility, it seems not to have been considered by any means a respectable vocation. Wynkyn de Worde printed a tract (without date, but in all probability before the death of Henry VII) called *Cocke Lorels Bote*,[1] which mentions both minstrels and players, and places them in company, which may serve to show the light in which they were then viewed. Cocke Lorell summons persons of all classes to go on board his ship of fools; among them, A. D. 1509.

'Fruyters, chese mongers & *mynstrelles*,
Talowe chaundlers, hostelers, & glovers,'

Queene. Third and last came downe the Duke of Yorke, having with him the Ladye Margret his sister in his hand, and daunced two bass daunces, and afterwards he, perceiving himself to be accombred with his clothes, sodainly cast of his gowne and daunced in his Jacket with the said Ladye Margarett in so goodly & pleasant maner that it was to the King and Q. right great and singular pleasure; & so departed againe, the Duke to the Kinge and the Ladye to the Queene. This disguising royall thus ended, beganne the Voydee to enter in this manner of a bankett,' &c.

[1] In S. Rowland's *Martin Markall, his Defence and Answer to the Bellman of London*, 1610, Cock Lorell is enumerated second in a list of rogues by profession, and he is thus described:—

'After him succeeded, by the general council, one Cock Lorrell, the most notorious knave that ever lived. By trade he was a Tinker, often carrying a pan & a hammer for shew, but when he came to a good booty, he would cast his profession in a ditch, and play the padder.' Three or four tinkers of this description open the very old play called *Common Conditions*, and do in fact 'cast their profession in a ditch', to act the part of foot-pads.

which proves, if proof were necessary, that minstrelsy was still looked upon as a regular occupation, while the companions of players in this tract are even less reputable:—

'Chymney swepers & costerde mongers,
Lode men and bere brewers,
Fyshers of the see and muskel takers,
Schovyl chepers, gardeners & rake fetters,
Players, purse-cutters, money batterers,
Golde washers, tomblers & jogelers,
Pardoners, kynges bench gatherers,' etc.[1]

It is not, however, quite clear, that by the term 'players', the author is to be understood to mean players in interludes; for the same word occurs in the title of a work printed by

[1] This satire is in the Garrick collection, and it is supposed to be unique; the greater misfortune, because it is imperfect at the commencement. Dr. Dibdin (*Typogr. Antiq.*, ii, 352) does not attempt to assign a date to it. It is mentioned in a MS. poem in the Bodleian, called *Doctour Double Ale:*

'I holde you a grota,
Ye wyll rede by rota,
That ye may wete a cota,
In *cocke lorels bota*.'

Hartshorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, p. 243. Another mention of *Cock Lorels bote* is in John Heywood's *Epigrams upon three hundred Proverbs*, where he thus describes a busy body:

'He will have an ore in every man's barge,
Even in *cocke lorels barge* he berth that charge.'

I quote from an edition of 1566, not mentioned by Ritson, and with only 'Londini, 1566', on the title page, without the name of any printer. Ritson says, that the 'sixth hundred of Epigrams' was first added to the copy of 1576, but it was, in fact, subjoined to this edition, ten years older, with the following notice:—'Whereunto are now newly added a sixte hundred of Epigrams, by the sayde John Heywood.' The Cock-lorrel whom Ben Jonson has celebrated, and who invited the devil to a feast, may have been the same personage.

Pynson, very shortly afterwards, called *The churche of yvell men and women, whereof Lucyfere is heed, and the membres is all the players dissolute and synners reproved.* Here 'the players' might seem to point at the particular class of persons then engaged in the performance of theatrical representations; but the tract is an invective against the use of cards and dice, 'the players' meaning only gamesters. It represents the Devil establishing a Church of his own in opposition to the Church of Christ, and the author makes a parallel between the offices, habits, books and furniture of the two: the Devil's cardinals are 'the great lordes, the officers and all the prelates', who do not suppress unlawful games: his bishops are gentlemen burgesses and merchants who encourage them; and his canons and curates are 'hostelers and taverners', who keep 'bordelles, taverns, sellers, and hote houses dissolute'.[1]

[1] This tract is of extreme rarity, and it is clear that neither Herbert nor Dr. Dibdin (*Typogr. Ant.*, ii, 446) ever saw it: the latter quotes the catalogue of the Bodleian Library, where indeed it is to be found, and where we had the good fortune to meet with it. It has been hastily but erroneously taken for granted that it was an attack upon stage-players. It has no date, and the colophon is in these words—'Thus endeth this lytell treatyse of the church of yvell men and women. Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, by Richard Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace'. It is a translation from St. Bernardyne, and not St. Augustine, as Dr. Dibdin erroneously states; and in an address to the reader at the back of the title, we are told 'the which treatise was drawen out of his booke in laten, intytuled *Christen relygyon.* And translated out of Frenche in to Englishe, at the instaunce of Charles, erle of Worcester and chamberlayne to our soverayne lorde the kyng'. At the end of the book (which is small 8vo or 12mo) is Pynson's device. As no notice of this production has ever been published, a short extract may be acceptable, in which the writer describes a pack of cards, and their suits, in his time:—

'And ryght so as in the portuous of our adversary ther is dyvers hystories: as the hystory of the nativyte, of the resurrectyon, of kynges and dyvers other. In lykewyse wyll I that there be pompous hystories

In the year 1511, Dean Colet was called upon to deliver an *Oratio at Clerum* before the Convocation at St. Paul's, and his testimony may be adduced in proof, that the clergy not only frequented, but acted plays: although this *Oratio* was not delivered until two years after Henry VIII had ascended the throne, it refers to a period anterior to the demise of his predecessor. Dean Colet complains that the clergy 'Conviviis et epulationibus se dedunt, in vanas confabulationes se effundunt, se *ludis* et jocis tradunt, se aucupiis et venationibus accommodant'. Farther on we meet with this passage—'Recitentur leges et sanctæ regulæ traditæ a patribus de vita et honestate clericorum; quæ prohibent ne clericus sit mercator, ne sit fœnerator, ne sit venator, ne sit *publicus lusor*, ne sit arma gerens', etc. A translation of this 'Sermon' was published (without date, but very soon after it was delivered) by Berthelet, and there we find the word *ludis* in the first quotation rendered 'playes'; and the words *publicus lusor* in the second quotation is rendered 'common player'. If the clergy had not at that period sometimes exhibited as 'common players', it would have been needless for Dean Colet to have told them to repeat the 'laws and holy rules' of the fathers.

in ours: as kynges, quenes and varlettes. I wyll moreover that my stories have great significacons, al so well as they of Christe. They that are paynted within, signifyeth the avaryce and cupidite of the cursed players. And those of the kynges signifyeth pride, inobedyence, and arrogance. They of the quenes, lechery and lubricyte. Those of the foles, the great follye of ye players that weneth to wynne a thyng transytorie, and leseth the rychesse eternalles. And those of the varlettes signifyeth that the players are servauntes of me Lucifer * * * The cardes with paynted hertes, signifyeth that they which play hath gyven their hertes unto the play, and unto the devyll. And those there as is the trayfles, signifyeth the folisshe ioye yt. they take in servynge Lucyfer. They of pykes sygnifyeth the noyses & debates that procedeth, & those of dyamondes signifyeth that the churche infernall shalbe paved with their soules.' Sign B.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII had no sooner ascended the throne than the court amusements were placed on a much more costly and extensive footing;[1] and perhaps the extravagance of this king in the pursuit of his pleasures has led, in some degree, to an unjust accusation of parsimony against his predecessor, who seems to have given liberal encouragement to the art of printing, as well as to poetry, music and the stage. During the reign of Henry VII we meet with comparatively small charges for revels, but the disguisings, in the first Christmas after his son came to the crown, cost no less than £584 19*s.* 7*d.* for gold plate, silks, and apparel, alone.[2] A. D. 1510.

[1] The *Act of Apparel*, 3 and 4 Edw. IV, exempting 'pleyers in their enterludes', has been already referred to, and in similar legislative regulations in the 6th and 7th Henry VIII, fixing the particular dress to be worn by different classes, it is provided expressly, that none of the clauses shall extend to 'minstrells and players of interludes': when these laws were revived in 24 Henry VIII, the exception was enlarged to 'minstrells, players in interludes, sights, and revells'.

[2] According to Hall (*Chron. An.* 2 Henry VIII), the King was a proficient in arms and arts: he shot with the bow, wrestled, played on instruments, sang and composed music, besides writing ballads. Kings, Princes, and nobles often possess wonderful versatility:—

'From thence the whole Courte removed to Wyndesore, then begynning

In the next year no similar items occur among the King's expenses, and perhaps the money was paid out of some other fund, and carried to a different account; for we learn from *Hall's Chronicle*, that the exhibitions at Richmond, where the King kept his Christmas, were of a magnificent description: his words are these:—

'Against the 12 daye or the daie of the Epiphane at nyghte, before the banket in the hall at Rychemound, was a pageaunt devised like a mountayne, glisteryng by nyght, as though it had bene all of golde and set with stones; on the top of the whiche mountayne was a tree of golde, the braunches and bowes frysed with gold, spreding on every side over the mountayne with roses and pomegranetts: the which mountayn was with vices brought up towards the kyng, and out of the same came a ladye appareiled in clothe of golde, and the children of honour, called the Henchemen, which were freshly disguysed and daunced a Morice before the kyng;[1] and that done reentred the mountayne, and then it was drawen backe, and then was the Wassail or banket brought in, and so brake up Christmas.'

On the 13th of February solemn jousts were held; and after describing the tournament at length, Hall adds what is more to our purpose:—'After supper his grace, with the Quene, Lordes and Ladies, came into the White Hall within the said Pallays, which was hanged rychely: the Hall was scaffolded and rayled on al partes. There was an Interlude of the Gentel-

his progresse, exercising hym selfe daily in shotyng, singing, daunsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, plaiyng at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in settyng of songes, makyng of ballettes; and did set ii goodly masses, every of them fyve partes, whiche were song oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwardes in diverse other places.'

[1] Then more usually called 'a Morisco' or Moorish Dance; and two persons, apparently foreigners, named Jacques Hault and William Pawne, were appointed to assist in the preparation of 'disguisings and some Moriscos' for the Court, 'whereof they shall have warning by the Lord Chamberlain'.

men of his chappell before his grace, and divers fresh songes: that done, his grace called to hym a greate man, or a Lord of Ireland called Odonell, whom in the presence of the Ambassadours he made knyght: then mynstrells beganne to play, the Lordes and Ladies beganne to daunce'.[1]

During the festivities of Christmas 1512-13, the King's players, and other performers who came out of Suffolk, acted at Court; but in this year we find no notice of extraordinary expenses. Nevertheless it is evident from the account the old Chronicler, just quoted, gives of the nature of the performances, that some charge of the kind must have been incurred. He tells us that in this year 'a mask, a thing not seen afore in England', was introduced; so that there must have been some difference, not now distinctly to be explained, between 'a mask' and 'a disguising'. Hall says:— 'On the daie of the Epiphanie at night the king with xi other were disguised after the manner of Italie, called a maske, a thing not sene afore in England: thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with golde, with visers and cappes of gold; and after the banket doen these Maskers came in with the sixe gentlemen disguised in silke, beryng staffe-torches, and desired the ladies to daunce: some were content, and some that knew the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thing commonly seen. And after thei daunced

A. D. 1513.

[1] The minstrels also on this occasion danced in disguises. A most extraordinary scene followed. The King and Lords entered the hall in a pageant on wheels, and they were to have retired into it again after the interlude, but the 'rude people' (as Hall terms them), in their rapacity for the finery of which the car was composed, pulled it to pieces. After dancing, the King desired his nobles to tear the gold letters from their dresses and to fling them among the crowd; but the rabble could not be restrained: they broke in, stripped the king 'to his hosen and doublet, and all his companions in likewyse'. The guard interfered to put the people back, 'or els, as it was supposed, more inconvenience had ensued'.

and commoned together, as the fashion of the maskes is, thei toke their leave and departed; and so did the Quene and all the ladies.'

The name of Richard Gibson has been inserted among the players of Henry VII, and early in the reign of Henry VIII he was appointed 'Yeoman Tailor' to the King, and subsequently Sergeant-at-Arms and of the Tents and Revels.[1] In this capacity it was his business to superintend the preparations for the royal entertainments, and to keep accounts of the expenditure. Among some miscellaneous papers of this reign, in the Chapter-house, is a roll of the items of the Revels in A. D. 1515. the 5th Henry VIII, including charges for masks and minstrelsy at Calais, while the King was at the siege of Terouenne, and after the taking of Tournay. The most curious part of this document relates to the Revels at Richmond, during the festivities of Christmas, 1514-15, which thus commences :—

'For to do pleser [to] the Kyngs grace, and for to pas the tyme of Chrestemas, by Sir Harry Gyllfurth [Guildford], Master of the Revells, was devysed an Interluit, in the wheche conteyned a moresk of vj persons and ij ladys: wherfor by commandement of our soveraine lord the Kyng, and at apoyntment of Sir Harry Gylforth, was preparyd, had and wrought dyvers and sundry garments.'

This is followed by a detail of the materials purchased for the making of the dresses, etc.; but before we mention a few

[1] This fact appears by the following extract from *MS. Cotton. Vitellius, F. V.*, giving an account of the burning of Gibson's son in the reign of Mary :—See also Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, iii, 413.

'The 13 day of November was Sant Erkenwold evyn, the 4 and 5 of K. and Quen, whent owt of Nugatt unto Smyth feld to be bernyd 3 men: on [one] was Gybsun, the sun of Serjant Gybsun, Serjant of armes, and of the reyvells, and of the Kyngs tents, and 2 more, the whyche here be ther names—Gybsun, Hald, and Sparow, thes 3 men.'

of the particulars, it will render them more intelligible, if we quote a singular contemporaneous paper, folded up in the roll and in a different handwriting, giving an account of the nature of the exhibitions before the King on this occasion. Two interludes were performed, one by Cornyshe and the Children of the Chapel, and the other by English and the King's players, and the account of them is as follows :—

'The Interlud was callyd the tryumpe of Love and Bewte, and yt was wryten and presentyd by Mayster Cornyshe and oothers of the Chappell of our soverayne lorde the Kyng, and the chyldern of the sayd Chapell. In the same Venus and Bewte dyd tryumpe over al ther enemys, and tamyd a salvadge man and a lyon, that was made very rare and naturall, so as the kyng was gretly plesyd therwyth, and gracyously gaf Mayster Cornysshe a ryche rewarde owt of his owne hand, to be dyvydyd with the rest of his felows. Venus dyd synge a songe with Beawte, which was lykyd of al that harde yt, every staffe endyng after this sortte :

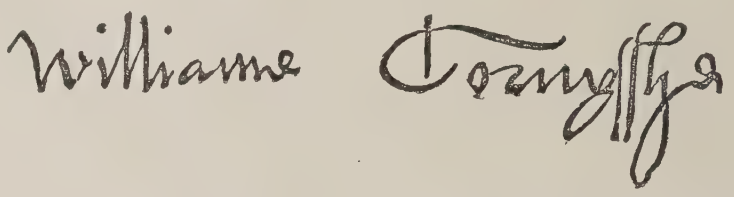
'"Bowe you downe, and doo your dutye
To Venus and the goddes Bewty :
We tryumpe hye over all,
Kyngs attend when we doo call."

'Inglyshe, and the oothers of the Kynges pleyers, after pleyed an Interluyt, whiche was wryten by Mayster Midwell,[1] but yt was so long yt was not lykyd : yt was of the fyndyng of Troth, who was caryed away by ygnoraunce & ypocresy. The foolys part was the best, but the kyng departyd befor the end to hys chambre.'

This portion of the document appears to be in the hand-

[1] Most probably Henry Medwell, who was chaplain to Cardinal Morton in the reign of Henry VII, and who has left behind him an interlude in two parts, called *Nature*, which is one of the earliest printed Morals in our language. See *Orig. and Prog. of Dram. Poet.*

writing of Cornyshe himself, who appended his very rare signature in the following form.



The statement of the cost of the various materials is in the hand-writing of Gibson; and it appears that, besides the Interludes, and the Morisco or Morris-dance, there was a disguising, and that a Fool was introduced into the entertainment, for whose coat a charge is made. The following are a few of the numerous items in this singular relic.

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson of satten of Bregs [Bruges], whyte & gree, xlviij yards, the yard *2s. 6d.* whereof spent in 6 jakytts for gentylmen, to every jakytt 6 yards. These jakytts had wyd slevys pendent.

'Itm bought by me Rychard Gybson, of yewlow sarsenet xxxviij yards, the yard 4*s.* whereof spent and imployd for a foolys kote 4 yards.

'Itm spent for iij mynstrells cotts, half yellow; to every cote 3 yards. Itm whyte sarsenett for the iij mynstrells cottes, half whyte; to every cote, 3 yards.

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, one pece of sypers, [cypress] 4*s.* spent & implyed for the tyer of the lady callyd Bewte, and the oother half for the lady callyd Venus: so spent of sypers 1 pece.

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, xxiiij dozyn of bells, the dozyn 12*d.*, spent for the sayd morysks, as well as 5 dozyn of the Kings store that were allso spent.

'Itm payd to Rychard Rownanger, paynter, for werkyng & pletyng of a surkytt & a mantyll of yellow sarssenet, with hartts and wyngs of sylver, for the lady that playd Venus, 10*s.*

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, xxiiij thowsand spangs

[spangles] of Flanders makyng, callyd setters, of dyvers sorttys, pr. the thowsand, 4*d.*—8*s.*

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, 18 thowsand spangs, called hyngers, of latten or coper, the thowsand, 6*d.*—10*s.*

'Itm for a long gyrdyl for the lady, 1 yard.

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, 38 yards of blake sarssenet, the yard 3*s.*, whereof spent in vj gownys for the sayd gentylmen to kever ther garmentts; to every gowne v yards, 30 yards.

'Itm spent for the kevyring of bonytts; to every bonyt, ½ yarde.

'Itm spent for vj payer of slop hosyn for kevyring of ther bells, 4 yards.'

From these particulars we may gather, that the gentlemen first entered disguised in black, and stripping off their external habits, appeared afterwards as Morris-dancers.

The two ladies, playing Venus and Beauty, doubtless acted in Cornyshe's Interlude.[1]

The velvets and silks, exclusive of other articles, for the 'disguising' in 1516, cost £247 12*s.* 7*d.*, and the apparel, etc., furnished from other quarters, are charged at £137 14*s.* 0½*d.* The revels at New Hall, otherwise called Beaulieu, in Essex, at Christmas 1519-20, occasioned a dis- A. D. 1516.

[1] These two parts were probably sustained by Ladies of the Court; and somewhat later in France, it was not unusual for the Princess and the female nobility to appear in what were termed 'farces'. This word is used in a letter from Sir W. Paget, resident Ambassador at the French Court, to Henry VIII, dated 26 Feb. 1541-2, giving an account of such a performance. The original is in the State Paper Office, and in it Sir W. Paget uses these expressions.

'The Cardinall of Turnon is restored again to the Kinges favour by the meanes of Madame d'Estampes and the Queen of Navarre, who lately went to visite him two myle from hence at his lodging, and played a farce before him: the players wherin were the Kinges doughter, Madame d'Estampes, Madame de Nevers, Madame Montpensier, and Madame Bellay.'

bursement of £207 5*s.* 1½*d.*, and no doubt this was not the whole of the charge: in the preceding year, according to Stow, there was a 'pestilence almost over all England'; and the King, therefore, 'kept himself with small company about him'.[1] In the summer of 1520, Henry VIII and Francis I met in Flanders, and enormous expenses were incurred by the former; of which, the sum of 3007*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* for apparel for the King, challengers and maskers, appears in the account of the royal payments.

During the first four years of his reign, Henry VIII kept up the theatrical establishment of his father, but in 1514, having added a new company of actors to his domestic retinue, from thenceforward payments were made to 'the King's players', and to 'the King's old players'.[2] The gentlemen of the Chapel also continued their performances, and he raised their emoluments, on such occasions, at once from 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which was the highest reward given by his father, to 10*l.* The children of the Chapel were also converted, at particular seasons, into a company of comedians, and when they played received a

[1] This circumstance is referred to in a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the Lord Privy Seal (preserved in his correspondence formerly in the Chapter-house, Westminster), dated Overton, 6th October, at 11 o'clock at night [1519].

'I have thought convenient to send my servant this berer unto you, to knowe the certaintie, with your good advise, whether I were better to come uppe with such nombre as I was wont to have abowts me when I wayted in the Court, which was abouts xl horses, or els to come with a smaller nombre: And also whether I shall bring with me my Sone of Surrey or not, whom I have caused to put hymself in redynes to mete me at Ware.'

[2] In *Lansd. MS.*, No. 171, it is said, that Henry VIII increased his theatrical servants from 4 to 8, giving each of them an annual fee of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*: the fact is, as it is stated above, that four of them were called 'the King's players', and the four others 'the King's old players'. In the same document, the following is given as the establishment of the King's Chapel, with the charge for it:—

gratuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which passed through the hands of Cornyshe, their master and instructor. He seems to have been in high favour with Henry VIII, and on one occasion received as a reward the sum of 200*l.* John English, as has been before remarked, was also retained in the service of this King, with a stipend of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* John Heywood, who is called 'the singer', had a quarterly allowance of 5*l.*, at that date a very considerable salary, and six times as much as the fixed payment of any of the interlude players.[1]

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Master of the Chapel, fee - - - -	40	0	0
Largess to the Children at high feasts - -	9	13	4
Allowance for their breakfast - - -	10	0	0
Thirty-two Gentlemen of the Chapel, fee to every of them 7½*d.* per diem, *i.e.* - - -	365	0	0
Making the total expense of the Royal Chapel -	424	13	4

This charge is independent of the cost of apparel, which must have been very considerable. In the Wardrobe Accounts, in the 3rd and 4th Henry VIII, formerly in the possession of Mr. Craven Ord, is a warrant for furnishing Thomas Sexton, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, with a gown which was to cost 11*l.* 18*s.* Another warrant directs that William Crane shall be furnished with a gown costing 9*l.* 12*s.* The gowns of three others were to cost 26*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* By a warrant in the same volume, dated 26th April, 4 Henry VIII, green dresses are ordered for 80 Trumpeters. 'Blynd Dike the King's Harper', who is often mentioned in accounts at the commencement of this reign, was provided with a gown costing 3*l.* 8*s.* The gowns of the gentlemen *Capellæ Regis*, were composed of tawny camlet, and black satin, furred with 'black bogy' [*forsan* black budge].

[1] The earliest notice of Heywood, afterwards so distinguished a dramatic author and actor, in connection with the household of Henry VIII, is in the year 1514, when his name only is inserted: in 1519 he is called a 'singer', and not included among the persons forming the establishment of the Chapel. He was probably then a boy, separately retained for the excellence of his voice: later in the reign of Henry VIII, it will be found that he is spoken of as 'a player on the virginals', but as he probably held

Under Henry VII the sum annually presented to the lord of misrule, for his services at Christmas, was never more than 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ; but Henry VIII raised it in the first year of his reign to 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and subsequently to 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* William

another appointment, master of a company of children who played before the Court, his salary was reduced to 2*l.* 10*s.* per quarter. He subsequently became a dramatic author, besides being the writer of many poems. One of these, directly connected with the amusements of the Court, and well meriting preservation, has hitherto escaped notice: it is contained in *Cotton. MS., Vespasian A.*, xxv; and as it relates to the situation Heywood occupied at the particular period to which we are now referring, we quote it in a note.

'Longe have I bene a singinge man,
And sondrie partes ofte I have songe,
Yet one parte since I first began
I cold nor can sing, olde or yonge ;
The meane, I meane, which parte showthe well
Above all partes most to excell.

'The base and treble are extremes,
The tenor standethe sturdelie,
The counter reignethe then me semes ;
The meane must make our melodie.
This is the meane, who meanthe it well,
The parte of partes that doth excell.

'Of all our partes, if any jarre,
Blame not the meane being songe trewe ;
The meane must make, it maye not marre ;
Lackinge the meane our mirthe adewe :
Thus showthe the meane not meanlie well,
Yet doth the meane in this excell.

'Marke well the mannour of the meane,
And therbie tyme and tune your songe ;
Unto the meane where all partes leane,
All partes are kepte from singinge wronge.
Though singinge men take this not well,
Yet doth the meane in this excell.

Wynnesbury, who most frequently held that post, was also in the receipt of wages at the rate of 1*s.* per day, though it is not stated in what capacity. In the 8th Henry VIII, Richard Pole was lord of misrule, and two years afterwards Edmund Trevore discharged the same duties; but in the next year, Wynnesbury was restored to his office, and he was succeeded

'The meane in compasse is so large
That everye parte must joyne therto;
It hath an ooer in everie barge,
To saye, to singe, to thinke, to do:
Of all these partes no parte doth well
Without the meane, which doth excell.

'To highe, to lowe, to loude, to softe,
To fewe, to manie, as a parte alone,
The meane is more melodious [ofte]
Then other partes lackinge that one:
Wherbie the meane comparethe well
Among all partes most to excell.

'The meane in losse, the meane in gaine,
In welthe or in adversitie;
The meane in healthe, the meane in paine,
The meane meanethe alwaies equitie.
The meane thus ment may meane full well,
Of all other partes most to excell.

'To me and myne with all the reste,
Good Lorde, graunte grace, with heartie voice
To singe the meane that meanethe best,
All partes in the beste for to rejoyce:
Which meane in meaninge meanethe well,
The meane of meanes that doth excell.

'Finis. Mr. Haywood.'

A MS. volume, formerly belonging to Mr. B. Heywood Bright, contained this song, with some variations of little importance. It was there attributed to John Redford, but probably by mistake.

by William Tolly, whose name does not, we think, occur again in the accounts of the department.[1]

[1] Many of the preceding particulars, which are quite new, are collected from two folios in the Chapter-house, Westminster, each entitled, *The Kynges boke of payments*, and they extend from the first to the twelfth year of his reign, both inclusive. It is not necessary to apologise for the length of the following quotations from them: in point of date they anticipate other particulars to be inserted hereafter, but it would have been inconvenient and less intelligible to separate them by placing them under their respective years.

1 H. VIII.—Dec. 25. To them that played in the hall opon thursday nyght, and opon Sonday nyght, 1*l.*

Jan. 6. To my Lorde of mysrule, in full payment for his busynes in Cristmes, 5*l.*

To the gentlemen of the Kings Chapell that playd in thall opon 12th nyght, 10*l.*

Feb. 10. To Wynnesberry, Lorde of mysrule, in full payment for his besynes at Cristmes, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

„ 24. To Rob Amadas opon his bill for certen plate of gold stuf bought of him for the disguysings, 451*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*

To Willm Buttry opon his bill for certen sylks bought of hym for the disguysings, 133*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*

2 H. VIII.—Dec. 15. To the Lorde of mysrule, towards his busynes ageyn Cristemas, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Jan. 1. To the Lorde of mysrule in rewarde, 2*l.*

To Master Cornisshe, 2*l.*

„ 6. To the Lorde of mysrule for his besynes in Cristemes, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

To the gentylmen of the Kings chapell for their play in rewarde, 10*l.*

To the Kings players in rewarde, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

3 H. VIII.—Dec. 21. To the Lorde of mysrule, towards his costs at Cristemes, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Jan. 1. To the Lorde of mysrule in rewarde, 2*l.*

„ 6. To the Lorde of mysrule at Cristemas, for his besynes the same tyme in full cont., 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

To the Kings players in rewarde, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

It will be remarked, that in the entries in 'the Kings books of Payments', the terms 'maskelyn' and 'masculers' are used:

3 H. VIII.—Jan. 6. To the Players that cam out of Suffolke, that playd affore the Lorde Stewarde in the Kings Hall opon Monday nyght, 13*s.* 4*d.*

4 H. VIII.—Dec. 19. To Willm Wynnesbury opon a warant for parte of his costs, being Lorde of mysrule this Cristemes, 10*l.*

Jan. 1. To the Lorde of mysrule servt., 2*l.*

„ 6. To Wynnesbury in full cont. for his Revells and besynes this Cristemes, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To the Kings players in rewarde, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

5 H. VIII.—Dec. 4. To Willm Wynnesbury, Lorde of mysrule, for his besynes this Cristemes, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Jan. 1. To the Lorde of mysrule servt., 2*l.*

To the Kings olde Players in rewarde, 4*l.*

6 H. VIII.—Dec. 17. To Willm Wynnesbury opon a warraunt for to kepe Revelles as Lord of Mysrule in Cristenmasse, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Jan. 1. To Wynnesbury Lorde of mysrule in rew., 2*l.*

To the Erle of Wiltyshires playres, that shulde have played in the Kings Hall oppon Thursday at nyght, in rewarde, 13*s.* 4*d.*

To the Kings olde Players in rewarde, 4*l.*

„ 6. To the Kings Players in rewarde, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To John Haywood wages 8*d.* per day.

To John Mason wages 8*d.* per day.

„ 21. To Leonard Friscobald for diverse velwets, and other sylks for the disguysing, 247*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*

To Richard Gibson for making of diverse garments and other stuf, 28*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*

Feb. 2. To Wynnesbury opon his wages avaunced aforehand, for 2 moneths at 12*d.* the day, 2*l.* 19*s.*

To Richard Gybson for certen apparell, &c., for the disguysing at the fest of Cristemes last, 137*l.* 14*s.* 0½*d.*

7 H. VIII.—Dec. 19. To Willm Wynnesbury, to be Lorde of mysrule in the kings howse this Cristemes, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

they mean nothing more than 'maskings' and 'maskers', now sometimes employed, as far as we can judge, in common with

7 H. VIII.—Jan. 1. To Wynnesbury Lorde of mysrule, 2*l.*
To the Erle of Wilshires players, 13*s.* 4*d.*
To the kings olde players in rewarde, 4*l.*
„ 6. To the kings players in rewarde, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
8 H. VIII.—Nov. 6. To master Cornisshe, gentylman of the kings chapell, opon a warraunt in rewarde, 200*l.*
Dec. 7. To Ric. Pole, opon a warrant for his charges for to be Lorde of mysrule at Cristemas next, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
Jan. 1. To the Lorde of mysrule, 2*l.*
„ 4. To the kings players in rewarde, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
To the kings olde players in rewarde, 4*l.*
To Mr. Cornisshe and the children of the chapell, that played affore the king, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
„ 24. To Richard Gybson, for diverse things by hym bought for the kings disguysings opon 12th nyght last past, 130*l.* 19*s.* 0½*d.*
9 H. VIII.—Dec. 25. To one Sigemonde Skeyf, an Almayn, for an instrument called a Regalle, 22*l.*
To the kings players in rewarde,
[No Lord of Misrule is mentioned this Christmas, and, perhaps, the players did not perform on account of the pestilence then prevailing.]
10 H. VIII.—Dec. 9. To Edmonde Trevore, whom the kyng hath appointed to be Lorde of mysrule this Cristmes, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
Jan. 1. To the Lorde of Mysrule, 2*l.*
„ 2. To the kings olde players in rewarde, 4*l.*
To Mr. Cornishe, for playing affore the king opon newyeres day at nyght with the children of the kings chapell, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
To the gentylmen of the kings chapell for their good attendance in Xtemas, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
11 H. VIII.—Dec. 4. To Willm Wynnesbury Lorde of mysrule this Cristemes, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

the older word 'disguisings'. A remarkable document upon this subject, of the early part of the reign of Henry VIII, was preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, under the following title, *A Booke of the Kings Revell stuff, being in the charge of John Farlyon*,[1] lately deceased, 'whiche is now com-

To Richard Gybson opon a warraunt for the revells, called a maskelyn, at New-hall in Essex, 207*l.* 5*s.* 1½*d.*

11 H. VIII.—Jan. 1. To Wynnesbury Lorde of mysrule, 2*l.*

„ 6. To Mr. Cornisshe, for playing afore the king this Cristemas with his children, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

To the gentelmen of the kings chapell, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To the kings players, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To the kings olde players, 4*l.*

12 H. VIII.—Jan. 6. To John Haywoode, synger, wages, 5*l.*

Dec. 1. To Willm Tolly, to be Lorde of mysrule, for his expenses and charges for executing the same rowme, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Jan. 1. To my Lorde of mysrule, 2*l.*

„ 6. To master Cornisshe for his play, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

To the kings players in rewarde, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To the kings old players in rewarde, 4*l.*

To William Mortemer, brawderer, Richard Gibson, and diverse other, opon a warraunt for clothes of golde, silks, velvetts and other diverse apparelles, as well for the kings owne person, as for other by his commaundement had and made, as well for the Justs and Tourneys royal lately holden at Guysnes ; as also for masculers and other diverse things, as more playnely apperith by the same warraunt, 3007*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*

March Half yere wages: for John Englishe fee, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

[1] In the *Liber Numerator Scaccarii* of Henry VIII, in the Chapter-house, under date of Easter, 6 Henry VIII, the following entry, regarding the office held by this person, is met with:—

'Johi Farlyon Custod. Vestuarum, sive apparatum omnium singulorum jocorum, larvatorum, vocat. Maskes, Revelles and Disguysings; ac etiam

mytted unto one Brigges, being appointed unto the same rowme; whiche said stuff is remaynyng in certain cofers, or standerds, at Warwicke Inne, London'. It commences with an inventory of 'stuff concernyng a Triumph and Justs',[1] and it then proceeds to a list of 'Masking garments, or for disguisings', including parts of the apparel for nine separate masks: the dresses for 'the Palmers Mask', which seem complete, are the following:

'Itm 8 shorte cloks for Palmers of skarlet, with Keys embrouderd upon their shulders.

'Itm 8 hatts to the same of crymson satten, with scalop shells embrodered before.

'Itm 8 scrippes of crymson satten, with their girdells.

'Itm 8 pair of crymson satten boots.

'Itm 8 Palmers staves, clapdishes, and beeds.'

Every mask consisted of eight persons; and among the articles in coffers are twenty-four visors. There is also an enumeration of 'hats of Tartary fashion', and of mantles 'according to the Irish fashion', which, doubtless, belonged to masks of Tartars and Irishmen, then about equally strange.

The masks given early in the reign of Henry VIII, both by the King and Wolsey, were most splendid and expensive; and Cavendish, in his Life of the Cardinal, inserts an elaborate and picturesque description of one of them, in which the King and several of his nobility masked as shepherds, and took Wolsey by surprise when he was giving a banquet to his

apparatus et trappers omnium et singulorum equorum nostrorum ordinat. et appunctuat. pro hastiludiis, de feod. suo ad vj^{d} per diem sibi debit. a 28 die Novembr anno vj^{to} salt. pro cxx diebus ad ratam predictam attingat ad summam 40*s*.'

[1] One of the articles enumerated is 'a pavillion of cloth of gold embroidered with H. K. and lined with green sarcenet'. Others are '24 barbs for great horses, cordings for barbs, bases,' etc.

friends and adherents. It is unnecessary to quote the passage, as the work in which it is found is deservedly in the hands of everybody.[1] Stow, in his *Chronicle*, places this occurrence in the year 1516, and is indebted to Cavendish for the detailed particulars he supplies.

By an original account, in his own hand-writing, in the Chapter-house, Westminster, it appears, that Richard Gibson in 1514 was employed upon a very important task, *viz.*, the repair of all the tents, halls and pavilions at Calais, probably in anticipation of the arrival there of the King's sister Mary, on her way to Paris for her marriage with Louis XII of France.[2]

The apparel for the court revels was kept at Warwick Inn, and probably the dresses of the King's players were deposited in the usual 'coffers and standards'. Of these dresses we have

[1] See the edition of *Cavendish's Life of Wolsey*, produced under the care of Mr. Singer, London, 1827, p. 112.

[2] The document is entitled thus:—'Here enseweth a Declarycion of Rychard Gibson, yeman tayllor to owr Sovrayne lord the king, for all reparacyons done upon the Kings Tentts, hallys, and pavyllyons, beyng at Callys, as in the 6th yere of his rayngne, & for stuff by the sayd Rychard provyded and bought, and wagys to workmen peyd for the sayd reparacyons.'

The account is extremely long and minute, including every particular of expenditure for materials and workmen. The 'tents, pavilions, and halls', were no less than forty-two in number, and the covering of all of them appears to have been canvas. In addition to these, 'four new pavilions', each requiring one hundred and fifteen ells of canvas, were prepared by Gibson, besides 'two halls made new', in each of which one hundred and forty yards of canvas were consumed. The difference between a tent, a pavilion, and a hall, is not pointed out. They all went by different names, as 'the Flowerdelyce', 'the Harpe', 'the Gold Cross', 'the Red Rose', 'the Rose Whyte & Red', etc. No doubt the greater part of these suffered in the calamity which befel them in 1520, when, as Stow informs us, the canvas banquetting-houses, etc., were blown away in a hurricane.

an enumeration, as early as the year 1516, under the title of 'Garments for Players', which, perhaps, is only part of a longer inventory of the same kind. It is, however, in the form in which it exists, of considerable value, as it serves to throw light on the nature of the theatrical amusements of the time: whether it belonged to any independent company of performers, or to one of the theatrical establishments of the court, it is impossible to decide; but from the costliness of some of the materials, we may be inclined to conclude in favour of the latter. It probably once formed the fly-leaf of a book, and is in the following terms:—

'GARMENTS FOR PLAYERS.

'A°. VII. Henr. VIII.

'A long garment of cloth of golde and tynsell, for the Prophete upon Palme Sonday.

'Itm a capp of grene tynsell to the same.

'Itm a long garment of crymson satten with ciphers enbroudered.

'Itm another shorter garment of the same satten.

'Itm a long garment enbrodered with wrethes of gold, and cutt.

'Itm a shortter garment of the same sort.

'Itm a long garment of peces and tyed with reband of blew satten, cutt.

'Itm a long garment of frenged sarcenet yellowe.

'Itm ii garments & an halfe of grene tinsell.

'Itm xii peces of garments of olde tinsell.

'Itm ii coots crimsen vellwett and tinsell paned.

'Itm v garments of olde blewe satten with scriptures of Romane lettres.

'Itm a pece of a garment of bawdekyn.

'Itm a littill gowne for a woman, the virgin,[1] of cloth of silver.

[1] The words 'the virgin' are interlined in the original copy with a different ink, if not by a different hand, to that by which the rest of the in-

'Itm a littill coote for a childe of cloth of silver.

'Itm a coot of crimson velwet & tilson [tinsel?] satten.

'Itm iii garments of damask & satten for women, olde.

'Itm xv pleyers garments of silke, olde, wherof vi long and ix short.

'Itm cappes of divers fassions for players and of divers colors: xviii of satten & sarcenet.

'Olde peces. Itm certain peces of garments in a coofer with borders of enbroudery, being loose, to serve to alter garments from tyme to tyme as shalbe thought convenient.'

In this list, the gown for the Prophet on Palm Sunday, the little gown for the Virgin, and the little coat for a child, tend to show that the performances for which they were used were Miracle-plays, or at least pieces in which certain Scripture characters were mixed up with the allegorical impersonations of Morals. It may be conjectured, that the 'long garment of pieces tied with ribbon of blue' might be a motley dress for the Vice.

The Books of Payments of Henry VIII, already so amply quoted, in an entry dated June 29, 1509, which we have not thought it necessary in terms to extract, and which is very often repeated, establishes that the wages of 'a luter', of the name of Giles, were 2*l.* per month, or 16*d.* per day. Whether all the minstrels of the King were paid at the same rate is doubtful: by a MS. in the British Museum,[1] we learn (the particular date is not inserted) that those who were called 'the King's minstrels' in the reign of Henry VIII were no fewer than eighteen in number,[2] and from their names it may

ventory was made out. It is now carefully preserved in the library of Mr. Ouvry, and placed in a most valuable volume of ancient theatrical documents, from the reign of Henry VI downwards.

[1] *MSS. Lansdowne*, No. 2.

[2] Among Mr. Ouvry's ancient documents, is a very curious one respecting the ceremonial to be used in the City on the passage of the Queen

be inferred that they were all Italians, Germans, or Frenchmen. The document is called, *The charge of the diet of the Kings Hyghnes, and his side in the grosse;* and it contains the subsequent item :—

'The bourdwagis of Ihon de Bassani, Antony de Bassani, Jasper de Bassani, John Baptiste de Bassani, Marcus Antonius, Nicholas de Forrewell, Pellegrine Symon, Antony Symon, Nicholas Andria, Antony Maria, John de Savernake, Guyllam Guillam, John de Bovall, Nicholas Puvall, Hanse Hansvest, Haunce Hichhorne, Peter de Welder, 18 mynstrells every of them 4*d.* the day, 109*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*'

The accounts of the expenses of the royal household do not indicate that Henry VIII, as his father had done, extended his countenance to the dramatic art beyond the limits of his Court. Several companies of players, from different parts of the kingdom, experienced the bounty (for so it may be fairly termed) of Henry VII, and the actors of not a few of the nobility performed at Court. Certain players of Suffolk, and others attached to the Earl of Wiltshire, are the only companies, as far as we can learn, which exhibited at Court during, at least, the twelve first years of the reign of Henry VIII. It is unquestionable, however, that the nobility still continued to give their patronage to plays, and in imitation of the King most of them kept theatrical retainers of their own.[1] The

through it ; and requesting that the royal minstrels may be allowed to assist in 'furnishing the Pageants' on the occasion. It is addressed to the Duke of Norfolk.

[1] The King's players, as well as the players of the nobility, seem to have travelled round the country representing plays wherever they could obtain adequate reward. From the 1st to the 31st Henry VIII, the King's players, the King's jugglers, the King's minstrels, and the King's bearwards were visitors of Thetford, and were paid various sums, from 4*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.*, by the Prior of the convent there, as appears by the entries in the account-book during that period. On one occasion, 16 Henry

most distinct information we possess on this point relates to the Northumberland family, and the chief source of our knowledge is the Book of Regulations, drawn up in 1512 by the then Earl, for the government of his family.[1] Every Christmas a Master of the Revels was appointed to superintend the festivities, with a fee of 20*s.*; and if the Earl's Almoner were a maker of interludes, it was provided that he should be allowed a servant to write out the parts for the performers. The rewards given to players attached to the nobility seem to have varied in proportion to the rank of the individual under the protection of whose name they travelled round the country: to the players of an Earl were given 20*s.*, while the players of a Baron were only rewarded for their exertions with half that sum. What are called in the same book 'players strangers' (who were either attached to some peer not the 'special friend or kinsman' of the Earl of Northumberland, or, perhaps, not countenanced by any protection of the kind), were only allowed 20*d.* for each play; but as they represented a series (probably of Miracle-plays founded upon Scripture),

VIII, Cornyshe, 'the master of the King's chapel', was paid 3*s.* 4*d.* by the prior; but he was then, probably, attendant upon the King, who is not unfrequently spoken of as having arrived, and being lodged at the Priory. Mr. Brandon and Mr. Smith are more than once rewarded as 'Jugglers of the King'. The Queen's players, the Prince's players, and the players of the Queen of France, also experienced the liberality of the Prior, as well as those of the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl and Countess of Derby, Lord and Lady Fitzwater, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Challoner, and two gentlemen who are called Marks and Barney.—*MS. of the Expenses of the Priory of Thetford, from* 1461 *to* 1540, lately in the collection of Mr. Craven Orde, and now of the Duke of Newcastle.

[1] It was printed in 1770, under the care of Bishop Percy, from the original MS. All the orders that relate to players and theatrical amusements are quoted by Bishop Percy in his Essay on the Stage (*Reliques*, i, 139, edit. 1812).

the calculation was that the sum they would receive would amount in the whole to 33*s.* 4*d.*

These Regulations may be illustrated, in some degree, by exhibiting the mode in which they were carried into execution in the family of the same nobleman a few years afterwards. At the Chapter-house, Westminster, was preserved, though in a state of melancholy mutilation from the damp to which it has been for some centuries exposed, a volume of the receipts and expenditure of the Earl of Northumberland in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of Henry VIII.[1] In point of date these particulars ought to be postponed, but it will perhaps be more convenient and intelligible to insert them here, in connexion with the notice of household affairs.

17 H. VIII. — Feb. 17. For eggs, brede, drynke and oranges for my Lorde, into my lorde of Burgaynes chamber, when theye were there a maskyng before the king, 1*s.*

March 30. Payed unto my lorde [the MS. is here illegible] at Mr. Carewes place for men playing a play, 6*s.* 8*d.*

July 7. Payd to Jasper Horsey for money layde owt by hym upon Corpus Christi evyn for my lords bothyr [boat-hire] from Polls wharfe to Parys gardyn, and from Parys gardyn to my lorde Cardinallys, and from lorde Cardinallys to Paris gardyn, 1*s.* 8*d.*

[1] In one part of it the following title is still legible, 'Al maner of payments of money maid by me Willm Worme betwixt Michaelmas, Anno 17 R. Henrici VIII and Michaelmas next Anno 18, by the spaice of an holle yere, as herafter followith'. Other headings of a similar kind occur elsewhere, but, in general, they are more than half illegible. In many places the damp has entirely obliterated the ink, and in others the paper is so frail, that it falls to pieces with the gentlest touch.

Oct. 31. Payd more the same day unto Willm Peres, my lordes Chaplen, for makyng of an Enterlued to be playd this next Cristenmas, 13*s.* 4*d.*

Dec. 26. Payd to my lorde of Soffolkes players for two plays bifore my lorde, 2*l.*[1]

The 'chaplain' above mentioned was probably also the Earl of Northumberland's Almoner, and a maker of inter-

[1] The following further quotations from this MS. are worth preserving, and it seems impossible that the book, in its present decayed state, should exist long:—

17 H. VIII.—Feb. 19. Payd for Bonetts mete and his drynke at London the same tyme, when he went unto the goldsmythe for my lord's Valentyne, 4*d.*

March 5. For Yerds drynke and the 2 horskepe at Eltham the same tyme my lorde dyd rune with Parker at the Tylte, 4*d.*

Payd at Eltham the same day for my lordes breakfast, 1*s.* 4*d.*

Payd the same day for my lords drynking after Tylte, 2*d.*

April 26. Paid to Mr. More, chauncellor of the Dewchey, for his qrt fee dew at our Lady Day in Lent A° xvii after 20*l.* by yere dewringe my lords pleasure, 5*l.*

18 H. VIII.—Oct. 7. Payd to my Lords 5 Trompetts, for there hole yere fee ended at Mic last A° xvii after, 40*s.* a pece, 10*l.*

Item to my lords 6 Trompetts by thands of J. Scotte, under bayliff of Yslam in Cambrygeshere, for there hole yere, 12*l.*

Feb. 18. Geven in rewarde to a frear [friar] of Blakefrears for saying of a masse Requem for my lordes Father, 4*d.*

March 30. Geven unto a preste for saying masse bifore my lorde at Powles, 4*d.*

ludes; a contingency, as we have seen, contemplated in the household regulations of 1512: he consequently was allowed a servant to write out the parts; and as the interlude was finished on the 31st of October, and was to be played at Christmas, sufficient time was allowed for preparation. William Peeres, 'Clerke and Preste Secretory' to Henry Percy, the 5th Earl of Northumberland, the person whose name is inserted as the maker of the interlude, wrote a poem, *On the Descent of the Lord Percies*, which is among the *Royal MSS.* in the British Museum.[1] In the Prologue he states, that he presented it to his lord as a new year's gift.

It will be observed, that the officer called in the household of the Earl of Northumberland, 'Master of the Revels', was yet only known at Court either by the title of 'Abbot of Misrule', or sometimes of 'Lord of Misrule'.[2] It was not until some years afterwards that Henry VIII erected the Mastership of the Revels into a permanent office, nor did it then supersede the temporary nomination of an individual, to provide and regulate the pastimes of the Court. Of the origin of the office of Master of the Revels, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

At about this date, or perhaps a little earlier, we first hear of 'the young Minstrels' in the royal household: they are

[1] 18, D. ii. It ends with the following stanza:—

'In this pamphilet, ye that shall rede,
Beholde and consyder the honorable discente
Of this 5th Erle, marke it well in dede;
His progenytoures in youre mynde yf that ye enprente,
It shall appere clere also and evident,
That descended he is of the noble blode of Inglande,
Lancasters, Marches, Arundel, & Westmoreland.'

It is to be hoped that Peeres' interludes were better than his heroics.

[2] Excepting, perhaps, in the instance of Sir Henry Guildford, who, in the 5th Henry VIII, is styled by Gibson, 'Master of the Revels'.

mentioned in a MS. thus headed:[1]—'The names of such persons as be assigned to have lodging within the Kinges house when they repayre to the same.' At the head of the list, and separated from the rest, stands 'The Lord Cardinal': below, at some little distance come 'the Duke of Norfolk and his Wife' and the Duke of Suffolk, 'when the French Queen is of the Court': the Bishop of Bath is interlined: Sir Thomas More and Sir Henry Wyatt occupy places in the first column, which closes with 'the King's poticarry' and 'the young mynstrells': nothing is here said regarding any senior company of minstrells.

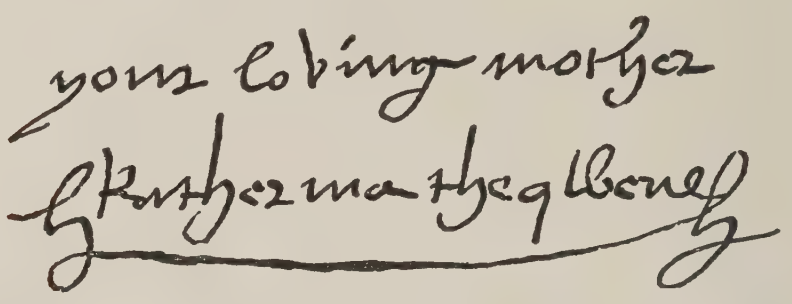
One of the earliest indications of the existence of anything like a classical taste, in matters connected with the stage in England, is to be noticed under the date of 1520, when four French hostages had been left in this country, for the execution of the treaty relating to the surrender of Tournay. For their entertainment the King 'prepared a disguising, and caused his great chamber at Greenwich to be staged', for the purpose: according to Holinshed, among the performances on this occasion, 'there was a goodly comedy of Plautus played'.[2] As it was for the amusement of foreigners, the representation may have been in Latin, for we have no trace of an English version of any of the plays of Plautus of so early a date.[3] A. D. 1520.

[1] In the very curious library of Mr. Ouvry.

[2] Vol. iii, p. 850, edit. 1587.

[3] The interlude of *Jack Jugler* is our first extant dramatic production derived from *Plautus*; but as far as we can judge from internal evidence, it was not performed until the reign of Edward VI. The *Andria* of Terence was printed under the title of *Terens in Englysh*, as may be concluded prior to 1530, and probably with the types of John Rastall, but no printer's name, nor date, are appended. In the translation it was adapted to the manners of the time, as if intended for representation. It is examined in some detail in another division of this

Princess Mary was born on 11th Feb. 1516-17, and as examples of the hand-writing of her mother are extremely rare we will here add a specimen of it, derived from one of the Cottonian MSS.: of course it was considerably posterior to the date of which we are speaking, but it is characteristic, and interesting as a memorial of the much injured Queen.



Before the little Princess had completed her sixth year, revels, including disguisings and dramatic representations, were held in her presence and for her entertainment. Some singular and minute particulars of these exhibitions are contained in an account appended to an original book, of the expenses of the household of the Princess, closing with the end of the year 1522, and formerly preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster. That account is here presented in its original form :—

A. D. 1522.

'Thyse bene the costes & charges leyde owte & payde by John Thurgoode, lord of Mysrule with the Princesse grace, in Crystmas tyme, the xiij yere of the Reigne of Kynge Henry the viii.

'Imprimis pd to ij Taberetts all the tyme of Xstemas, 4*s.*

'Itm to a paynter of Wyndesore for makyng vysors, paynting of fases [*fasces*], Coote armors, hatts for dysgysyng, and for paynting xiij Quayers of paper in dyvers colors, 5*s.* 4*d.*

'Itm pd. to Butteller for hyre of garments herys, & hattys at

work. A 'play' called *Julius Cæsar* was represented at Court; but that was as late as 1561, as appears by *Machyn's Diary*, printed by the Camden Society in 1848.

London, with caryage of the same fro London to Dytton, & to London ageyne, 3*s.* 8*d.*

'Itm pd. for xiij Quayers of paper bought at Wyndesore after ij^{d} *ob.* the Queyer, 2*s.* 8½*d.*

'Itm pd. for xij shetes of golde foyle, 18*d.*

'Itm pd. for whyght threde, blak threde & pakthrede, 10*d.*

'Itm pd. to a Taylor & his iij servants, for warkyng on dyverse garmentes, for my chaunge at sondre tymes, as well for there laburs as for mete, drynke and logyngs, 7*s.* 8*d.*

'Itm pd. for Frayler at Wyndesore to make garmentes, and other dysgysyng, 16*d.*

'Itm pd. for Tonny Skynner & Tonny Tayler, 5*d.*

'Itm pd. to a man at Wyndesore, for kylling of a calffe before my ladys grace behynde a clothe, 8*d.*

'Itm pd. to a man of Dachet for pleying of the Fryer afore the Pryncesse, 8*d.*

'Itm for makyng of a payre of sloppys for Jakes, when he pleyed the shypman, and a blewe garment, made lyke harnes, for the same Jakys, and a nother garment for mayster Pennyngton, 12*d.*

'Itm pd. for iiijdds Clateryng Stavez and ijdds Morys pykes, 16*d.*

'Itm pd. for xij Bowez made by vyces with Shafts, 20*d.*

'Itm pd. for Strawe, that xij men were covered with in a dysgysyng, & for strawe at other tymes, 6*d.*

'Itm pd. for hyryng of a horse, when I rode for garmentes to Wyndsore, 4*d.*

'Itm pd. for gonne powder, & in rewarde for iiij men that war gonners, 4*s.*

'Itm pd. for Frankynsence, 1*d.*

'Itm pd. for horsebrede instede of manchett, 1*d.*

'Itm pd. to Thomas Sowthe for ryding for the ij Tabretts, & for hyering of a horse to fetche harnes fro Wyndesore to Dytton, and cariage of the same home ageyne, 10*d.*

'Itm pd. for mendyng of Adams garments that war brokyn, 4*d.*

'Itm pd. for hyeryng of x dds bells, and ix Morres cots, & for the losse of xxij bells percell of the same x dd, 2*s.* 4*d.*

'Itm pd. for hyeryng of a horse all the halydayes, & for trymmyng the same horse in dyverse fachyons at sondre tymes, 16*d.*

'Sm. bill. 40*s.* alto^r^ per Jane Calthorp, Philip Cailthorp, Ric Sydnor.'

Hence it appears, that a Lord of Misrule, named John Thurgoode, was appointed at Christmas 1522-3, to superintend the revels, and that part of those revels consisted of a disguising, for which hats and garments were hired in London. Morris-dancers were also introduced, for the coats, staves and bells for whom charges are inserted. Some kind of play was likewise represented, and the mention of Adam's garments would lead to the conclusion that it was a Miracle-play of the Creation. Adam might, however, be the name of one of the performers, as was certainly the case with Jaques (possibly Jaques Hawte, whose name has already frequently occurred), who played the part of a shipman. Another person, not named, supported the character of a friar: the singular item for the payment of a man of Windsor, for killing a calf in the presence of the Princess 'behind a cloth', may mean out of the sight of the little Princess. Fire-arms were discharged on the occasion, and gunners were hired for the purpose, but whether the twelve bows made by [de]vices, and the straw to conceal twelve men, belonged to the disguising or to the play, it is impossible to decide. This document is one of the most remarkable, as well as one of the earliest, connected with our stage.[1]

[1] About three years afterwards, viz., on the 17th November 1525, the Bishop of Exeter, and others of the council of the Princess, wrote to the court from Tewkesbury, in order to ascertain the pleasure of the King 'whether (as the letter is worded) we shall appoynte any Lord of Mysrule for the said honorable householde, to provide for interluds, dysgysyngs, or pleyes in the said fest [of Christmas] or for a banket on twelf nyght?' The reply is not extant, and we find no trace of any revels upon the occasion:

So much were players in request about this period, and so fashionable an amusement had theatrical exhibitions become, that it was usual, on the celebration of any joyous event in a family of distinction, either to have a play represented by the performers attached to the household, or to hire them for the purpose. In Croft's *Excerpta Antiqua*[1] is a detailed account of a banquet, play, and mask at the house of Sir John Nevill, of Chevet, on the marriage of his daughter, in January, the 17 Henry VIII, to Roger Rockbey. If a person of rank gave a banquet, it was often preceded by an interlude; or (as the name implies) a dramatic performance represented in the intervals of the entertainment. We have seen the words *interludentes* and 'players in interludes' used in the reign of Edward IV; and the mention of 'players of interludes' in English, occurs again in the reign of Henry VII, when, in the book of Exchequer payments, already quoted, the actors he retained are termed 'the King's players of interludes': we may, perhaps, hence infer, that the plays and pageants of old

the letter of the Bishop of Exeter, etc., is preserved in *Cotton. MS., Vesp., F.*, xiii, and it has been printed in the first series of *Ellis's Letters*, etc., i, 271. Among the *Royal MSS.* (17 *B.* xxviii) is a very curious one, which throws farther light upon this subject, but of a later date. We allude to the book of the daily expense of the household of the Princess Mary, from the twenty-eighth to the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Henry VIII, which contains entries of money paid for dramatic entertainments, etc., at various periods. John Heywood had then become master of a company of children, who, perhaps, acted his own dramatic productions; and on one occasion (unless there be some mistake, which seems probable), the princess paid him 10*l.* 'for playing an enterlude with his children' before her. She was also accustomed, at Christmas and on New Year's-day, to give rewards to the 'King's players', to 'the children of the chapel', and to 'the King's children' (perhaps under Heywood); but the sum never exceeded 10*s.* on these occasions, and sometimes it was only 7*s.* 6*d.*

[1] Published at York in 1797. 8vo.

represented at Court, and elsewhere, were usually performed in the pauses of banquets. For this express purpose some of them appear to have been written, and were contrived to occupy more or less time, according to the period that was to be so employed.[1]

We have a detailed and accurate account of the whole domestic establishment of Henry VIII, in the seventeenth year of his reign, in a contemporary MS., endorsed *A Booke of wages paide monethly, quarterly & half yerly by the Kyng, 17 Hen. VIII.* Here we find the names and salaries of every person connected with the household, from the highest to the lowest; but on what occasion it was made out does not anywhere appear. Only a comparatively small part of this long catalogue is connected with our inquiry: the following received monthly wages :—

A. D. 1526.

12 Trumpettes, wages in 16*d.* a daye, 24*l.*
3 other Trumpettes, wages in 8*d.* a day, 40*s.*
Giles, lewter with the Princess, 40*s.*
Arthur Dewes, lewter, 10*s.* 4*d.*

[1] On the title-page of the interlude of *The Nature of the Four Elements*, printed very soon after the reign of Henry VIII commenced, it is expressly pointed out what omissions might be made to bring the piece, if necessary, within the compass of three-quarters of an hour. The author of the MS. historical play of *Sir Thomas More*, in the Harleian Collection (No. 7368), which was probably written before the year 1590, may be supposed to have been in some degree acquainted with what had been the habit in this respect about half a century anterior to the time when he wrote: he represents that the interlude, or moral of *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom* was played by the actors of Cardinal Wolsey previous to a banquet supposed to be given by Sir Thomas More to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London. According to Hall (when speaking of the events of 14 Henry VIII), and other authorities, Cardinal Wolsey had a company of players belonging to his household establishment: there can be little doubt about it.

Peter Welder, lewter, 31*s.*

John Severnake, a rebike, 40*s.*
Thomas Evans, a rebike, 6*s.* 8*d.*
John Pyrot, a rebek, 40*s.*

Balthazar, a taberet, 31*s.*
Nowell de Lasaile, a taberet, 33*s.* 4*d.*
Claude Burgens, taberet with the Princes, 31*s.*

William More, harper, 10*s.* 4*d.*

Andrew Newman, the Waite, 10*s.* 4*d.*

Hanse Hoffenet, viall, 33*s.* 4*d.*
Hanse Heighborne, a viall, 33*s.* 4*d.*

4 Drumslades, each, 31*s.*
Jaques, a phipher, 31*s.*

John van Wincle, a sagbut, 55*s.* 6*d.*
Nicholas Fortywall, a sagbut, 55*s.* 6*d.*
John Van Arlen, a sagbut, 55*s.* 6*d.*
Lewes van Wincle, a sagbut, 40*s.*
John de Antonia, a sagbut, 40*s.*
Aloisy de Blasia, a sagbut, 40*s.*
Mark Antonio, a sagbut, 40*s.*
Pelegryne, a sagbut, 40*s.*
Ypolet de Salvator, a sagbut, 40*s.*
Fraunces de Salvator, a sagbut, 40*s.*

Lewke Horneband, pictor maker, 55*s.* 6*d.*

For borde wages of the children of the chapel to maister Crane,[1] 26*s.* 8*d.*

[1] Crane himself, who was at this date Master of the Children of the Chapel, was paid out of a different fund to that which seems to have been devoted to the wages of the household. The following extract from a Book of Receipts and Payments of the Exchequer in the 18th of Henry VIII, shews that his annuity, as usual, was 40*l.*:—

'Will° Crane, Magistro Puerorum Capellæ Dom. Regis, de annuitate

William Tooley, yoman lord of mysrule, 30*s.*

Among the persons whose wages were paid quarterly are these :—

John Heywood, player of the virginals, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
William Lewes, instrument maker, 50*s.*
John de John, prest organmaker, 50*s.*
Richard ap Guillam, the kings foolle, 15*s.* 2*d.*
Richard James, a lymner of bookes,[1] 30*s.* 5*d.*
Thomas Hall, writer of the kyngs bookes, 100*s.*
John Swayves, grayver of pictors, 100*s.*
Philip Welder, mynstrell,[2] 50*s.*
Vincent Vulpt, paynter, 100*s.*

The list of those who received half-yearly wages includes the following :—

Sir Henry Guldeford, annuitie, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
The same Sir Henry for his fee, 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
Sir Francis Bryan for the Toilles, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
John Englissh, player,[3] 66*s.* 8*d.*

sua ad xl li. per ann. sibi debit : pro termino Michaelis Anno xviii^mo^ Regis nunc Henrici VIII rec: den: Will^o^ Gonson——10*l.*'

The same sum was paid to Crane at Christmas. The book from which we quote was in the Chapter-house.

[1] The Exchequer payments in Easter term, 24 Henry VIII, establish that Thomas Berthelet, or, as he is there named, Bartelot, the printer, had an annuity of 4*l.* a year :—

'Thomæ Bartelot, Impressori Regis, de annuitate sua ad iiij li per ann. per lra de hoc termino. Rec. den: per fest. Paschæ ult^o^ per manus R. Gonson, 40*s.*'

This seems to have been the first payment of the kind made to him.

[2] In 17 Henry VIII, as appears from the account of Exchequer payments preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, John Gylmyn was *Marescallus Ministrallorum*, and had seven other minstrels under him. He was succeeded in 1529 by Hugh Woodhouse.

[3] It is not, of course, to be supposed that at this time English was the only player in the pay of the King ; but, after having served Henry VII,

William Dawbeney of the Chapell, 70*s.*
Olde Maynard wewoke paynter, 100*s.*
Robert Wakefield, Greke reder, 66*s.* 8*d.*
Mr. Croke, greke reder at Cambridge, 100*s.*

The whole household of the King, included in the catalogue from which the above are extracted, considerably exceeded three hundred persons.

By an account preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, of the household expenses of the natural son of Henry VIII, who had been created Duke of Richmond and Somerset in June 1525, it appears that between 12th June 1526, and 31st March 1526-7, he had been several times entertained by the performances of players, and that the Council appointed for his care and custody had paid, in that interval, 3*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* as rewards to actors and minstrels. No particulars regarding either the companies who acted, or the pieces they represented, are furnished.[1]

it is probable that at this time English had ceased to perform, but was still allowed half his wages and board. The following entry in a Book of Receipts and Payments of the Exchequer in 17 Henry VIII, the year when the enumeration of the King's household in the text was made out, shows that persons of the names of Richard Hole and George Mayler were then at the head of the King's Interlude Players:—

'Rico Hole et Georgio Mayler, et aliis Lusoribus Dom. Regis, de foedis suis inter se ad x marcos per Ann. sibi debit: pro festo Michaelis, Anno xvij Regis nunc Henrici VIII recept. denar. per manus proprias, per litt. curr.——66*s.* 8*d.*'

Each player, therefore, received quarterly precisely the sum that was paid to John English half yearly.

[1] The account includes some other curious items of expenditure, under the head of 'Certain extraordinarye and foren charges'. The title of the whole runs thus:—'Here ensueth the Charges, as well of the Garde of Robes and Beddes, as the Stable of the right high and prepotent Prince Henry, Duke of Richemond and Somerset, and Earle of Nottingham', from the 12th of June, 17th of Henry VIII, to 31st March ensuing:—

Richard Gibson's account of *Revelles at Richmond and Grenewich in the time of Cristemas* (without the date of the year, but most probably 1526) is extant in the Chapter-house, Westminster; but it furnishes no information of the nature of the entertainments, whether plays, disguisings, or merely tournaments. The wages of each of the workmen, and the cost of canvass, paint, size, oil, tinsel, gold, silver, etc., are set out with the utmost minuteness. From another account, appended to the first, it appears that jousts were held at Greenwich, at Easter of the same year, and the charges for preparations, under the care of Gibson, extend from the 29th of February to the 7th of March. Stow informs us, that at this date, 'was holden solemn jousts at Greenwich', in which the King and eleven others were on one side, and the Marquis of Exeter with eleven others of the opposite party.[1]

A. D. 1527. The 'pastimes' of the King and his court, in the Spring of the next year, were upon a scale of unusual magnificence. In the Chapter-house, Westminster, was a volume in folio with the following title:—'A booke of pay-

'Item paied for certayne newe yeres giftes, 6*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*

Item rewardes yeven to diverse parsons, for newe-yeres giftes presented unto the saied Duke upon newe-yeres daye last, 9*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Item paied for charges of Greyhoundes and other houndes, 4*l.* 10*s.*

Item payed to players and mynstrelleis for rewardes, as appereith by a lyke bylle therof made, and signed by the saied Counsayll, 3*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*

Item delyvered to the lorde Ogle, by waye of preste for the kepinge of Tyndalle, 20*l.*

Item delyvered to the Almer for certayne almes distributed to poore peepull within the saied tyme, 11*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*'

[1] The original bill for the cost of the King's dress, or one of his dresses, on the occasion, was formerly preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and it may be curious to print it, precisely in the form in which it was sent in by Robert Spenlay, the gold-drawer, and corrected by the

ments of money disbursed by Sir Henry Guildforde, knight, and Sir Thomas Wyat, knight, in the building of a Banketing-house at the king his manor of Grenewiche.' It was a temporary erection of wood and canvass; and why, in this instance, Sir H. Guildford, the comptroller of the King's household, and Sir Thomas Wyat, the poet, were called upon to interfere with their superintendence, may, perhaps, be explained by the extraordinary amount of the expenditure, and the splendour of the exhibitions: the banqueting-house alone cost 760*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*, and it was entered by 'two arcks triomphant of antique works.' Charges for 'lions, dragons,' etc., might be looked for in the ordinary course of such amusements; but an item for 'dyvers necessaries bought for the trymmyng of the Father of Heaven', would hardly be expected: it seems, however, to establish the curious fact, that as late as

Council, who reduced the claim, as appears in the margin, from 9*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* to 8*l.*, besides the payment to the gold drawer of 12*l.*, so that the whole cost was something over 20*l.* in money of that day.

'To thuse of the Kings grace for his honorable tryumph holdyn at his manour of Grenewich the vjth daye of May the xixth yere of his Reigne.

First, for the brawthering of ij halfe barbes and ij halfe basses of purple velvett rychely powdred w^{t} knyghts rydyng upon mountaynes armed and ladys castyng darts at them, and powdryd with clowdes, and the grownde betwix the powdrings fflorisshed thycke w^{t} Brownne w^{t} floures and Goddes all Rychely wroght and fformyd w^{t} golde and silv^{r} of venis and golde of damaske ennewed silks pe' of evy' halfe barbe w^{t} his half base, that is to say for voyding sering dressing fformyng fflorisshing venys golde and silv', silk threde canvas seiring candill past w^{t} such other necessaries thereūto belonging, iiij^{li}. xj^{s}. x^{d}. ob.	ix^{li} iij^{s} ix^{d} viij^{li} *by ye kounsell.*
Itm, To Robt. Spenlay golde drawer for xlviij onc' of golde of damaske, the which was wroght upon the said barbes and basses pe' le onc' v^{s}'	xij^{li}.

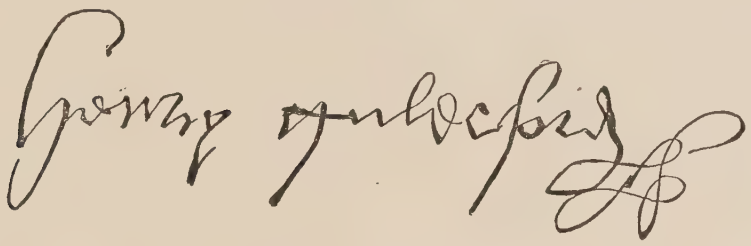
1527, in a pageant performed at Court, the Creator was introduced as a character, in the same manner as he had been in the old Miracle-plays. St. George likewise figured in the spectacle, and 4*s.* were paid for the work of two tailors for two days upon his coat. The wages of the Italian painters (whose names are given, *viz.*, Vincent Vulpe, Ellys Carmyan, Nicholas Florentyne, and Domingo) amounted to 43*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*; and connected with this part of the expense we must not omit to mention a representation of Terouenne, called 'a plat of Tirwan', for the execution of which 'Maister Hans' (Holbein?) received 4*l.* 10*s.* This scene (if it may so be called) was painted upon canvass, and placed at the back of one of the triumphal arches. The workmen were employed night and day from the 27th of February to the 26th of March, although the revels did not in fact take place until the 4th of May; and so pressed do the superintendents appear to have been for time, that a letter was sent to the Lord Mayor 'for his command for workemen to help the tornors makyng pillers.' Two of the most curious items of charge are the following, which add another name to the list of our dramatic authors, and, if understood literally, prove that at that date, when undertaken even for the Court, play-writing was not a very profitable employment.

'Itm to John Redemen for wrytyng of the [a word not legible] 4 daies and more, 3*s.* 8*d.*

'Itm for the writyng of the diagloge, and makyng in ryme, bothe in inglishe and Latin, 3*s.* 4*d.*'

It is possible that John Redeman was only employed as a scribe, to write out the parts, the piece being in dialogue, which may account for the smallness of the sum he obtained; but then the additional phrase of 'making in rhyme' would hardly have been used. The document is signed by the hand of Sir Henry Guildford, in the following manner, to attest its

correctness; and the accountant acknowledges the receipt,



during the progress of the work, of 660*l.*, so that there remained due 101*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*, less 43*l.* 3*s.* 4½*d.*, allowed for materials obtained out of the King's own store.

Hall usually enters into more minute particulars of the Court revels than other chroniclers, and the following is his description of the preparations and performances on this occasion. *Chron.* 1550, ii. fo, clvi.

'Sonday the fyft daye of Maye was a solempne Masse songe at Grenewich, the Cardinall and the Archebyshop of Canterbury, with x prelates mitered, beyng present; and there the Frenche Ambassadours, in the name of the Frenche kyng, there master, sware to observe the peace * * * For the more enterteining of the Frenche Ambassadours, the kyng caused a solempne Justes to be done * * * The kyng against that night had caused a banket-house to be made, on one syde of the tylte yarde at Grenewyche, of an hundreth foote of length, and xxx foote bredth; the roofe was purple clothe full of roses and pomgarnettes: the windowes were all clere stories with currious monneles strangely wrought; the jawe peces and crestes were carved with vinettes and trailes of savage worke, and rychely gilted with gold and byse: this worke carbolying bare the candelstyckes of antyke woorke, which bare little torchettes of white waxe: these candelstickes were polished like aumbre. At the one syde was a haute place for herawldes and minstrelles. This house was richely hanged, and therin was raised a cupbord, of seven stages high and xiii foote long, set with standyng cuppes, bolles, flaggons and greate pottes, all of fyne golde, some garnyshed with one stone, and some with other stones and perles: on the other syde was

a nother cupbord of ix stages high, set full of high pottes, flagons and bolles; all was massy plate of sylver and gilte, so high and so brode that it was marvaile to beholde. At the nether ende were two broade arches upon three antike pillers of gold burnished, swaged and graven full of cargills and serpentes, supportyng the edifices. The arches were vawted with armorie all of byce and golde, and above the arches were made many sondri antikes and devises. * * * The hole supper was served in vessel of gold; to reherse the fare, the straungenes of the dishes, with the devises of beastes and fowles, it were to long, wherefore I will let passe over the supper with songes and minstrelsie. When supper was done, the kyng, the quene, and the ambassadors washed, and after talked at their pleasure; and then thei rose and went out of the banket chambre bi the forsaid arches; and when they were betwene the uttermoste dore and the arches, the kyng caused them to turne backe and loke on that syde of the arches, and there they saw how Tyrwin was beseged, and the very maner of every mans camp very connyngly wrought, whiche woorke more pleased them then the remembryng of the thyng in dede. From thens they passed by a long galerie richely hanged into a chambre faire and large * * * the rofe of thys chambre was conningly made by the kynges astronimer; for on the grounde of the rofe was made the hole earth environed with the sea, like a very mappe or carte; and by a conning makyng of a nother cloth, the zodiacke with the xii signes, and the five circles or girdelles, and the two poles apered on the earth, and water compassyng the same. * * * After a solempne oracion in the Latin tongue * * * then entred eight of the kinges chappel with a song, and brought with theim one richely appareled: and in likewyse at the other side entred eight other of the saied chappel bringyng with theim a nother persone likewise appareled: these two persones plaied a dialog, theffect wherof was whether riches were better then love, and when they could not agre upon a conclusion, eche called in thre knightes all armed. Thre of theim would have entred the gate of the arche in the middel of the chambre, and the other iii resisted; and sodenly betwene the six knightes out of the arche fell downe a bar all gilte, at the which

barre the six knightes fought a faire battail, and then thei were departed, and so went out of the place. Then came in an olde man with a silver berd, and he concluded that love and riches both be necessarie for princes (that is to saie) by love to be obeied and served, and with riches to rewarde his lovers and frendes; and with this conclusion the dialogue ended.'

At Christmas 1527-8, a play was performed at Gray's Inn; and although this is the first time we have met with any notice of theatrical exhibitions there, as the piece then acted had been written many years prior by a member of that Society, there is reason to suppose that it had been represented soon after it was completed.[1] Cardinal Wolsey was present in 1527-8, and Warton conjectures that, as the author, John Roo, was 'degraded and imprisoned', the piece contained some free reflections on the clergy.'[2] Holinshed was Warton's authority on the point; but Hall[3] is very explicit, and inserts the plot of the Moral, or Morality, and shows precisely the ground of offence to the cardinal; who, although the play had been written twenty years before, applied it personally to himself. Hall tells us: 'This Christmas was a goodly disguysing plaied at Greis Inne, whiche was compyled for the moste part by Ihon Roo, Sarjant at the law, 20 yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any authoritie: the effecte of the plaie was, that Lord Governaunce was ruled by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose misgovernaunce, and evil order, Lady Publike-wele was put from Governaunce; which

[1] Dugdale (*Origin. Jurid.*, 285) informs us, that 'at a pension held here [Gray's Inn] in Michaelmas Term, 21 H. VIII, there was an order made, that all the fellows of this House, who should be present on any Saturday at supper betwixt the feasts of All Saints and the Purification of our Lady, or upon any other day at dinner or supper, when there are Revells, should not depart out of the Hall until the said Revells were ended, upon penalty of 12*d.*'

[2] *Hist. Engl. Poet.*, iii, 223.

[3] *Chron.*, 1550, ii, fo. cliv b.

caused Rumor-populi, Inward-grudge, and Disdaine of wanton Sovereegntie to rise with a great multitude to expell Negligence and Dissipation, and to restore Publike-welth again to her estate; which was so done. This plaie was so set foorth, with ryche and costly apparell, with straunge devises of masks and morishes, that it was highly praised of all menne, saving the Cardinall, whiche imagined the play had been devised of hym.' Hall further informs us, that in consequence Wolsey sent Roo, the author, and Thomas Moyle, of Kent, one of the young gentlemen that played', to the Fleet; but, upon subsequent representation that the performance had been misapprehended, they were released.

We now come to a remarkable event, which, independent of its connection with the progress of the drama, is important as a piece of history. It is, we believe, new as regards both.

In Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, we read a long and interesting narrative of the splendid manner in which the Maréchal Montmorency, the Bishop of Bayonne, the President of Rouen, and Monsieur d'Humières, Ambassadors from France, who arrived on the 20th of October, 19th of Henry VIII, were received and entertained, first by the Cardinal at Hampton Court, and afterwards by the King at Greenwich.[2]

[1] Singer's edition, p. 188, *et seq.* It is a mistake by Warton (*H. E. P.*, iii, 263, edit. 8vo.) when he states that the interlude, spoken of by Cavendish, was represented before the French Ambassadors who came to England to ratify peace in 1514: it was performed, as has been shown, in 1528, on a similar occasion; and Stow, with reference to it, nearly quotes the words of Cavendish. Warton cited the edition of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* of 1708, where it is said expressly that the interlude was 'made in Latin': the MS. from which Singer printed his edition varies from the others, and states that it was 'made in Latin and French'. That any part of the performance was in French is not confirmed by other authorities.

[2] In a contemporary MS. we have a very minute account of the costly presents of plate then made to the Ambassadors: it is the original bill of

Among other things the old biographer relates, that 'in the midst of the banquet [at Greenwich] there was tourneying at the barriers (even in the chamber) with lusty gentlemen in gorgeous complete harness: then, there was the like on horse-

Robert Amadas, the King's goldsmith; and it is unfortunately considerably mutilated by damp and carelessness. It is thus entitled:—'Md that I Robt Amadas have deliv'd, by the Kings graces commaundement, to the Ambassators of Fraunce these percells of plate as here after foloweth, the 19th day of May, Anno xix^no.' This date was the time, probably, when Amadas sent in his bill: according to it, the Bishop of Bayonne received,—

'Furst a payer of greatte potts, waying 202 oz.
Itm vj Bollis with a cover gilt, waying 261 oz.
Itm ij Flagons gilt, chassed with water flowers, waying 207 oz.
Itm a Basson & Ewer gilt, waying 96 oz.
Itm a Cuppe with a cover gilt, waying 27¾ oz.'

To Viscount Montmorency were given,—

'A payer of greatt gilt potts, waying 147 oz.
Itm iij Bollis with a cover gilt, waying 185 oz.
Itm iij Bollys with a cover gilt, waying 135 oz.
Itm a goodly gilt laver chassyd, waying 34 oz.
Itm a Basson & Ewer gilt, waying 128 oz.
Itm a Payer of Flagons gilt, waying 173 oz.
Itm a standing gilt cuppe with a cover, waying 31 oz.'

The President obtained plate to the weight of 444 oz.; and two other persons to the weight of more than 700 oz., making in the whole nearly 3000 oz. of plate given to these ambassadors. The same account includes the following articles, delivered by the King's order to Sir Anthony Brown, knight:—

'ij greatt lowe square salts with a cover, waying 58 oz.
vj Bolles with a cover, percellis gilt, waying 172 oz.
iij silver Candilstiks, waying 44 oz.
xij Sponys with slyppis, waying 22 oz.
xij Trenchers, waying 129 oz.
xiv Platters of silver, waying 386 oz.'

together with other items to the amount, in the whole, of 1598 oz., most likely given to persons in the train of the ambassadors.

back; and after all this, there was the most goodliest disguising, or interlude, made in Latin *and French*, whose apparel was of such exceeding riches, that it passeth my capacity to expound.' Stow, who in this part of his Chronicle generally copies Cavendish, acknowledging his authority in the margin, here deviates slightly from his original, and states as follows: 'And after all this was the most goodliest disguising, or interlude, *made in Latine*, the plaiers being so rich, and *of so strange devises*, that it passeth my capacity to expound.' He omits, therefore, the assertion, that part of the interlude was in French, and lays particular stress on the 'strange devises' of the players. The fact is, that this 'most goodliest disguising, or interlude', acted before Henry VIII, Wolsey, and the French Ambassadors, was a Latin Moral, in which Luther and his wife were brought upon the stage, and in which ridicule was attempted to be thrown upon them, and the Reformers. It was acted by the children of St. Paul's School under the regulation of their master, John Rightwise, who was most likely the author of the piece represented.

The original account by Richard Gibson, in his own writing, giving a variety of details regarding this extraordinary exhibition, is extant;[1] and although he was evidently an illiterate man, and wrote a bad hand, and although the paper is considerably worm-eaten, nearly the whole is legible and intelligible. It consists of fifty-three pages closely written, and on the last leaf is a drawing with pen and ink of the ground-plot and elevation of a building, which may possibly represent the form and appearance of the banqueting-house in which the play was exhibited. It is entitled in the following manner:—

[1] The official copy of it, made out from Gibson's rough draught, and signed by Sir Henry Guildford (as Comptroller of the Household) and by Gibson, was in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

'Jhu.

'The revells holldyn the xth day of Novembyr, the xixth yer of our sovrayn lord kyng harry ye viijth.'

Without entering into the minor details of wages to workmen, and the expense of a quantity of materials of all kinds, it may be mentioned, that part of the apparel employed on this occasion had been used in the revels of the preceding month of May; but a vast deal of it was quite new and costly, including '8 beards of gold and 6 of silver set on vizors' and the 'hire of hairs for the ladies.' We afterwards arrive at the following enumeration, and description of the singular characters in this remarkable interlude:[1]—

'The kyngs plessyer was that at the sayd revells by clerks in the latyn tong schoulld be playd in hys hy presens a play, where of insewethe the naames. First an Orratur in apparell of golld: a Poyed [poet] in apparell of cloothe of golld: Relygyun, Ecclessia, Verritas, lyke iij nowessys [novices] in garments of syllke, and vayells of laun and sypers [cypress]: Errysy [Heresy] Falls-interprytacyun, *Corupcyoscryptorris*, like ladys of Boem [Bohemia?] inperelld in garments of syllke of dyvers kolours: the errytyke Lewter [Luther] lyke a party freer [friar] in russet damaske, and blake taffata: Lewter's wyef [wife] like a frow of Spyers in Allmayn, in red syllke: Peter, Poull and Jhames in iij abyghts [habits] of whyght sarsenet, and iij red mantells, and hers [hairs] of syllver of damaske, and pelyuns [pelerines?] of skarlet, and a Kardynall in hys apparell: ij Sargents in ryche apparell: the Dollfyn [Dauphin] and hys brother in koots [coats] of vellwett inbrowdyrd with golld, and kaps of saten bound with vellwet: a Messenger in tynsell saten: vj men in gouns of gren sarsenet: vj wemen in gouns of crymsyn sarsenet: War in ryche cloothe of golld

[1] From a passage in Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Hist. Henry VIII*, we gather that, in or about 1533, a comedy of a very different character, viz., in ridicule of the Pope and Cardinals, was represented at Court. 'News came to Rome (he says) that there was a comedy represented at Court to the no little defamation of certain Cardinals.'—See *Kennett*, ii, 173.

and fethers and armd : iij Allmayns in apparell all kut and sclyt of syllke : Lady Pees [Peace] in layds [lady's] apparell all whyght and ryche, and Lady Quyetnes and Daam Tranquylyte rychely besyen [beseen] in ladyes apparell."[1]

The document then sets out the different kinds of silks, velvets, etc., bought for 'these 48 personages', and those materials which had been procured from the king's stores, of which William Locke then had the charge : they consisted of $36\frac{3}{4}$ yards of white sarsnet, $22\frac{3}{4}$ yards of yellow sarsnet, $13\frac{3}{4}$ yards of black sarsnet, 5 yards of black velvet, $35\frac{3}{4}$ yards of red sarsnet, 19 yards of black satin, $22\frac{1}{2}$ yards of green sarsnet, 18 pieces of cypress, 12 plight of lawn, 7 pieces of black buckram, besides hose, cauls of Venice gold, 3 gross of points, 8 pieces of ribbon, 4 pelleuns [pelerines ?] and 'the hire of a circlet, and a rich paste with the attire thereto.' The making of the ap-

[1] We are thus enabled to contradict satisfactorily the representation given by Hall, in his *Chronicle*, of this performance. He was clearly misinformed, as is evident not only from this original paper, but from the official statement made by Sir H. Guildford, in the Chapter-house, upon which the money was paid to Gibson. Hall's account of the play is, however, worth subjoining :—

'Then when the Kyng and Quene were set, there was played before them by the children, in the Latin tongue in maner of a Tragedie, the effect whereof was that the pope was in captivitie, and the church brought under the foote, wherefore St. Peter appeared and put the Cardinall in authoritie to bryng the Pope to his libertie, and to set up the church agayn ; and so the Cardinall made intercession to the kinges of England and of Fraunce, that they toke part together, and by their meanes the Pope was delyvered. Then in came the French Kynges chyldren, and complaynd to the Cardinal, how the Emperour kept them as hostages, and would not come to no reasonable point with their father : wherfore thei desyred the Cardinal to helpe for their deliveraunce, which wrought so wyth the kynge, his mayster, and the French kyng, that he brought the Emperour to a peace and caused the two yong princes to be delyvered. At this play wise men smiled ; and thought that it sounded more glorious to the Cardinall, then true to the matter in deede.'

parel is then charged ; after which we arrive at the following entries, which merit extracting entire.

'Item payd by me Rychard Gybson, for byer [beer], and aell and bred for xxxviij chylldyrn, the Master, the Ussher and the Masstres, that et and dranke, 3*s.* 2*d.*

'It. Mast. Ryghtwos [Rightwise], Master of Powlls Skooll, axethe to be alowed for dobelets, hossys [hose] and schoos for the chylldern that were poore mens sons ; and for fyer in tyem of lernyng of the play, as by hys byll apperythe 45*s.* 6*d.* : so for kosts by the sayd Mast. Ryghtwos doon, sm^{a}. 45*s.* 6*d.*

'It. payd by me Rychard Gybson, for vj boots [boats] to karry the Master of Powlls Skooll and the chyldyrn, as well hoom as to the Kourt, to every boot 12*d.* : so payd for frayght for the chyldyrn, 6*s.*'

Thus we see, that however luxurious might be the banquet given to the ambassadors, the master, ushers and children of St. Paul's school were only allowed beer, ale and bread, and 3*s.* 2*d.* provided it for all. To these items are added, in Gibson's own MS., and not included in the fair copy in the Chapter-house, a charge for 'the pagent', which was doubtless the stage or scaffold on which the performance took place. The result of the whole is that 70*l.* 15*s.* 6¼*d.* remained due to Gibson, as he acknowledged to have previously received 20*l.*

The account of the expense of erecting the banqueting house, on the occasion when this play was performed, was in the Chapter-house, Westminster. The superintendence of the works was entrusted to George Lovekyn, clerk of the royal stable, who, earlier in the reign, as we find by the books of payments, had been sent to Oxford for education, and there maintained at the expense of the king. The works were commenced on the 11th October, and the performance took place on the 10th November. In Lovekyn's account, we find mention of a great variety of materials, for a fountain (for which seventeen gallons of perfumed waters were bought

at an expense of 10*l.* 10*s.*) for two arches and a portal, for 'dancing lights', etc. The following extract from Hall's Chronicle shows, in picturesque detail, the precise manner in which the materials purchased were applied by the artisans: he is speaking of Sunday, Nov. 10th, 19 Henry VIII:

'After supper was done, the king led the ambassadors into the great chamber of disguysings, and in the ende of the same chamber was a fountayne; and on the one syde was a hawthorne tre, al of silke wyth white flowers, and on the other syde of the fountayne was a mulbery tre, ful of fayre beryes, all silke: on the top of the hawthorne was the armes of England compassed with the collar of the garter of St. Michel, and on the toppe of the moulberie tree stode the armes of France wythin a garter. This fountayn was al of whyte marble graven & chased; the bases of the same were balles of golde, supported by rampyng beastes, wounde in leaves of golde. In the first worcke were gargilles of gold, fiersly faced, with spoutes running. The second receyt of this fountain was environed with wynged serpentes, all of golde, which gryped the second receit of the fountain; and on the sommit, or toppe of the same was a fayre lady, out of whose brestes ran aboundantly water of merveilous delicious saver. About this fountayn were benches of rosemary, fretted in braydes layd on gold, all the sides set with roses in braunches, as they were growyng about this fountayne. On the benches sat viij fair ladies in straung attier, and so rychely apparelled in cloth of gold, embrodered and cut over silver, that I cannot expresse the conning workmanship thereof.'

The expense of this banqueting-house, etc., was less than usual, only 138*l.* 8*s.* $4\frac{3}{4}$*d.*; but as Gibson used some of the dresses which had been employed in the revels in the preceding May, it is not unlikely that Lovekyn also turned to account on this occasion part of the materials of the temporary erections then constructed.

It is rendered more probable, that Rightwise was the author of the play thus represented, by the fact, that he had written a

Latin tragedy on the story of Dido and Æneas, the performance of which by the scholars of St. Paul's Wolsey himself witnessed.[1] Rightwise became master of that school in 1522, and died 1532.[2]

It is very possible that, in consequence of the unsettled state of the public mind on the subject of religion at this period, what were subsequently called 'the Popish Miracle-plays' were not performed as usual at Chester in 1529, although they were certainly revived afterwards. In King's *Vale Royal*, 1656,[3] we have an account, under this date, of the representation of a play of a very different kind at the Market-cross of Chester, the title of which was *Robert Cicil*, or Robert of Cicily. King drew his information from the then existing records of the city, and after giving the names of the Mayor and Sheriffs for the year, he adds the following note:—'1529. The play of Robert Cicill was played at the High Crosse; and the same was new gilt with gold.' A. D. 1529.

This is all the knowledge hitherto obtained upon the subject; but among the unarranged papers of Cromwell in the Chapter-house, Westminster, we found a very valuable letter (not indeed addressed to Cromwell, because he was not even knighted until 1531) from the Mayor and Corporation of

[1] Warton, *H. E. P.*, iii, 259, edit. 8vo.

[2] He seems to have been a man much looked up to by his contemporaries, as a scholar: in the volumes of letters preserved at the Chapter-house, Westminster, was one to Sir Thomas More, from the tutor of the Duke of Richmond (the natural son of Henry VIII), in which he states, that he has consulted Rightwise as to the course that ought to be pursued in the education of that young nobleman. In the same letter (which is not signed, and may be only a rough copy of the one actually sent), the writer expresses his regret that it had not been his good fortune to be present when the daughter of Sir Thomas More 'disputed of philosophy before the king'.

[3] P. 194.

Chester, stating the nature and object of the play, and asking permission to have it represented. This document has in part been destroyed by damp, so that it has no name nor date, but nearly all the rest has been preserved, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that it refers to this very transaction. The back of the letter having been torn off, it cannot be ascertained to what nobleman in the Court of Henry VIII it was addressed, but it ran as follows :—

'Our moste humble duetye to your right honorable Lordshypp premysed, we holde it convenyent and proppre to infourme your good Lordshyppe of a play, which som of the companyes of this Cittye of Chester, at theyr costes and charges, are makynge redy, for that your good Lordshyppe maye see wether the same be in any wyse unfyttynge for them, as honest menne and duetyfull subjectes of his Majestye. The sayde playe is not newe at thys time, but hath bin bifore shewen, evyn as longe agoe as the reygne of his highnes most gratious father of blyssyd memorye, and yt was penned by a godly clerke, merely for delectacion, and the teachynge of the people to love & feare God and his Majestye, and all those that bee in auctoryte. It is callyd Kynge Robart of Cicylye, the whiche was warned by an Aungell whiche went to Rome, and shewyd Kyng Robart all the powre of God, and what thynge yt was to be a pore man ; and thanne, after sondrye wanderynges, ledde hym backe agayne to his kingdome of Cicylye, where he lyved and raygned many yeres.[1]

[1] The play seems unquestionably to have been founded upon the old romance thus headed ;

'Here is of Kynge Robert of Cicyle,
Hou pride dude him beguile ;'

from which some extracts, from *MS. Vernon Bibl. Bodl.*, f. 299, are given by Warton, *H. E. P.*, ii. 17, edit. 8vo. King Robert of Cicily denies that the power of God is greater than his own, and while he is asleep an Angel takes his shape, usurps his throne, and clothes the king like 'the fool of the hall'. In this state of degradation he endures many privations, and envies even the condition of the dogs kept about the Court. The angel

'Thys muche we thought it mete to shewe to your right honorable Lordshyppe, for that your good Lordshyppe myght knowe the holle of theyr entent that goe aboute to playe this playe on Saynt Peter's day nexte ensewing; and yf your good Lordshyppe shold holde the same unfytte or unwyse at thys tyme, thanne theis pore artifycers will, of our knowlege, staye the same and' * * *

It is evident that only the formal conclusion, the date, and the signatures to this communication, have perished. The piece, it seems, was not new, but a revival of a play first acted in the reign of Henry VII; still, however, it was thought necessary to procure the sanction of the Court for it.[1]

afterwards repairs to Rome, still personating the king, and Robert accompanies him as his fool:—

'The fole Robert with him went,
Clothed in a folis garnement,
With foxes taylys hongyng al abowght.'

In Rome Robert endures still further sufferings and degradations, but at the close of the poem he is restored to his kingdom; which exactly accords with what is said in the text of the story of the play. Both Warton and his late editor speak of the connection between the romances of Robert of Cicily and Robert the Devil, but they have, in fact, no resemblance either in characters or incidents: Robert the Devil was Robert Duke of Normandy, regarding whose adventures a romance was printed by Wynkyn de Worde: 'Here endeth the lyfe of the most feerfullest and unmercyfullest and myschevous Robert the Devyll, whiche was afterwarde called servaunt of our Lorde Jhesu Cryste.'

[1] The King and Princess (probably Mary) had companies of Players who performed at Court at Christmas 1530-1, as we find from the following entries in the *Royal Household Book* of that date, among the MSS. once belonging to the Trevelyans at Nettlecomb; these are among the entries of rewards on New Year's Day:—

'Item, to the Kinges plaiers for plaing before his Grace, vj^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
Item, to the Princesse plaiers for plaing before his Grace, iiij^{li}.'

At this date John English was no doubt at the head of the King's Players, and there is a separate entry for 'John Inglishe the plaiers wages', amounting to 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

It was about this period that John Heywood, 'the singer', A. D. 1530. and 'player on the Virginals', began to write his interludes: these productions form an epoch in the history of our drama, as they are neither Miracle-plays nor Morals, but entirely different from both: several of them come properly within the definition of 'interludes', pieces played in the intervals of entertainments, and have frequently both clever humour and strong character to recommend them. They were, as far as we can now judge, an entire novelty, and gained the author an extraordinary reputation. He is not supposed to have begun to write them until 1529 or 1530; but there is nothing to fix the date beyond the publication of several of his pieces in 1533.[1]

The Royal Society is possessed of a very valuable MS., a

It appears, on the same authority, that the Players of Coventry (probably with their miracle-plays) performed at Court in 1530: the following is the entry:—

'Item paid to certain Players of Coventrye, as in the way of the Kinge's rewarde, for playinge in the Corte this last Cristmas, Anno xxj°, xx^{s}.'

The late Sir Harris Nicolas was in possession of an account-book of the Prior of Dunmow, applicable to the years 1531 and 1532, by which it was seen that rewards of 3*s.* 4*d.*, 2*s.* 4*d.*, and smaller sums, had been given to the Players of Lord Derby, the Marquis of Ulster, the Earl of Sussex, as well as to 'the King's Players' (so named). The Priory had also been visited on numerous occasions by Minstrels, Lords of Misrule, and Jugglers, to whom rewards as low as a groat had been presented.

[1] The following quotation from Warton (*H. E. P.*, iii, 213, 8vo.), shews that Ralph Radcliffe, towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII, was the author of several plays, religious and profane, none of which have survived. 'In the year 1538, Ralph Radcliffe, a polite scholar and a lover of graceful elocution, opening a school at Hitchin in Hertfordshire, obtained a grant of the dissolved friery of the Carmelites in that town; and, converting the refectory into a theatre, wrote several plays, both in Latin and English, which were exhibited by his pupils. Among his comedies were *Dives and Lazarus*, Boccaccio's *Patient Griselda*, *Titus and Gesippus*, and Chaucer's *Melibeus:* his tragedies were *The Delivery*

continuation of those 'King's Books of Payments', which have already furnished so much information in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. It seems to have been kept in the same handwriting as the rest, and was, in all probability, a fair transcript of other accounts: it is for the years 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, and 1542, being from February in the 29th, to June in the 33d year of Henry VIII. We learn from it (as we have already seen in earlier authorities) that between those dates the King, the Queen, and the Prince had separate companies of players, who acted before the Court at Christmas: the wages of the former, Robert Hinstocke, George Birche, and George Nayler (or Mayler), were 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per quarter, or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum; and when they performed at Christmas, an additional sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid to them. Another player, named John Slee (or Slye), was paid half-yearly the sum of 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and in March, 31 Henry VIII, to Richard Parrowe, whose name does not previously occur, 'one of the kingis interlude players', was granted an annuity of 2*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* during life: he is afterwards mentioned as Richard Plowe, or Parlowe, and was included

of Susannah, The Burning of John Huss, Job's Sufferings, The Burning of Sodom, Jonas, and *The Fortitude of Judith.* These pieces were seen by the biographer, Bale, in the author's library.' Henry Parker, Lord Morley, whose only extant work is a translation of the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, was also the author of 'tragedies and comedies', as Bale terms them, in this reign. At about this period the profession of a player seems not to have been at all unusual, though not always creditable; and actors wandered about the country, exhibiting wherever they could obtain encouragement: in the Exchequer accounts of 1530 we meet with a record of a royal company which was paid an annual salary of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and John Roll, Richard Hole, and Thomas Sudbury are spoken of as members of it. We certainly do not hear of them elsewhere, but the information regarding them was furnished by the late Mr. F. Devon, who at various periods discovered curious particulars connected with our subject, and favoured us with them.

in the three who received monthly wages on the disappearance of George Nayler (or Mayler) from the household establishment. The Queen's and Prince's players had each a reward from the King of 4*l.* when they acted; but their salary, whatever it might be, would not be registered among the King's payments. When any of the players of the nobility performed at Court, they received only 20*s.* in reward. At this period, we hear nothing of Cornyshe, who was most likely dead; and we know that, in 1526, William Crane was the master of the children of the Chapel,[1] whose performances at Court are also registered in the volume before us. John Heywood, in these accounts, is still spoken of only as a 'player on the virginals', and his quarterly allowance then was 2*l.* 10*s.*[2]

[1] The persons employed about the Court in the reign of Henry VIII frequently obtained patents for the sole import, export, etc., of various commodities; and among the privy seals in the Chapter-house, Westminster, was one, dated 1st of March, 33 Henry VIII, to William Crane, 'Master of the Children of our Chapell', to buy and export for his advantage 400 tons of double beer. On the 10th of April, 32 Henry VIII, 'our wellbeloved servant and painter', Anthony Toto, had a patent to buy and export 600 tons of beer.

[2] The entries which relate to the stage are in the following form in this volume, where the wages are divided into monthly, quarterly, and half-yearly payments, besides annual rewards:—

29 H. VIII.—Quarterly payments at Lady Day.

Itm for John Haywood pleyer on the virginals, 2*l.* 10*s.*

Itm to Robert Hinstocke, George Birche, and George Nayler, pleyours, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

30 H. VIII.—Half-yearly payments at Lady Day.

Itm to John Slee [elsewhere called Slye] pleyor, wages, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Dec. 30. Itm to the children of the chapell by way of the King's rewarde, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Jan. 1. Itm to the King's pleyers, for pleying before the King this Xtemas, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

It is a circumstance deserving notice that in the book of the King's payments for the 35th and 36th Henry VIII, for-

---

30 Henry VIII.

Jan. 1. Itm to 4 minstrells, 4*l.*
Itm to Mathewe de Johanna, Tumbler, 10*s.*
Itm to the Quenes pleyers, for pleying before the King this Xtemas, 4*l.*
Itm to the Princes pleyers, for pleying before the King this Xtemas by the Kings commaundement, 4*l.*

31 Henry VIII.

Jan. 1. Itm to Mr. Crane, for playing before the King with the children, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
[The King's and Prince's players received rewards as usual, but the Queen's players are not mentioned.]

March. Itm to Richard Parrowe, one of the Kingis enterlude pleyers, by the Kingis warraunte dated 14 Feby Anno 30 Dom. Regis, for the yerely paymente to him of 44*s.* 6*d.* during his life, quarterly by even portions, from the feast of the Nativitie of our Lord God, dicto A° 30, the some of fifty-five shillings peny ferthinge, for one yere and one quarter, due to hym at the Annunciation of our Lady, Anno 31, 2*l.* 15*s.* 1¼*d.*

32 Henry VIII.—Quarterly payments at Christmas.

Itm for Rob. Hynstoc, George Birch, and Ric: Parlowe, pleyers, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Jan. 1. Itm to Lewes de Basson [Bassano?], Anthony de Basson, Baptist de Basson, Jasper de Basson, John de Basson, the King's Minstrells, by the King's commaundement certified by Maister Charles Hawarde, 4*l.*
Itm to Vincent de Venitia, Alex. da Venitia, Ambrosio de Milano, Albertus de Venetia, Joam Maria de Cramona, and Antony de Romano, the Kings vialls, by like commaundement certified by M. Cha: Hawarde, 4*l.*
[The Kings, Queens, and Princes players received rewardes as usual.]
Itm to the Ducke of Suffolkes pleyers, for pleyinge in the Kingis hawle on twelf-even, the somme of 1*l.*

merly in the collection of Mr. Craven Ord, there is no entry of payments to adult players of the King, the Queen, or the Prince, although Crane obtained the customary reward of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the performances of children. It is possible that 'the gentlemen of the King's chapel' superseded the regular 'interlude players', and an entry is made of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 'for their paines taking this Cristmas.' The trumpeters, musicians, and minstrels were paid as usual. The four minstrels, named Bassan, or more properly Bassano, obtained three rewards at this season, amounting to 5*l.*, and 'four other mynstrells' 4*l.* John Haywood received his 50*s.* quarterly, and Richard Dorryngton, as 'keeper of the King's mastiffs', 5*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.*

The contents of this last volume of the expenses of Henry VIII have been inserted a little out of order in point of date, that they might stand in connection with the previous volume, belonging to the Royal Society, from 1538 to 1541. Perhaps the non-insertion of any payments to professed players at Court in the years 1544 and 1545, may have arisen from the circumstances of the times. Warton tells us that as early as the year 1533 a proclamation was promulged, prohibiting evil-

---

32 Henry VIII.

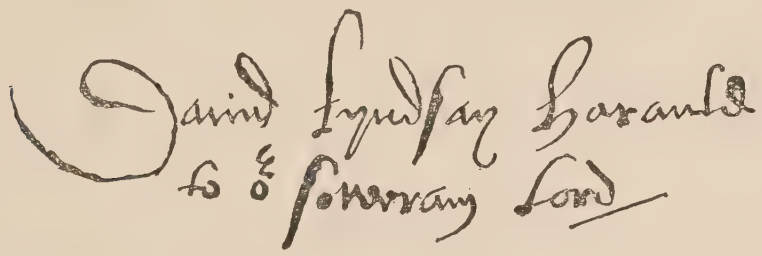
Jan. 1. Itm Payed to Thomas Speryn and John Sperin, his sonne, serjeants of the King's beares, by the Kings warrant for the yerely payment to them the wages of 7*d.* by the day, 8*l.* 12*s.*

In 32 Henry VIII (*vide Archæologia*, xviii, p. 333), 'the King's pleyers' received 'a rewarde' for the loan of their garments for the masks on Shrove Monday and Tuesday in that year. We might infer from this circumstance that the apparel was their own ; but, perhaps, it was only a gratuity, in consideration of the clothes being borrowed for the use of others, although they might be the property of the King.

disposed persons to preach, either in public or private, 'after their owne braine, and by *playing of enterludes*, and printing of false fonde bookes, ballades, rhymes and other lewd treatyses in the English tongue, concerning doctrines in matters now in question and controversie.'[1]

What effect was produced by this proclamation, and how long that effect continued, are points we are not in a condition to decide upon any existing evidence; but within a few years afterwards, viz., in 1539-40, we find Sir William Eure (Lord Warden of the Marches toward Scotland) writing to Lord Cromwell, giving him an account of the performance of the *Satyre of the three Estaitis*, by Sir

A. D. 1540.



before King, Queen, Court and Prelacy of Scotland at Linlithgow, and congratulating his lordship that it indicated a determined disposition on the part of James V to reform the abuses of the Church in Scotland. On the 21st of January 1539-40, a meeting took place at Coldstream between Sir W. Eure and Thomas Bellendyn, 'one of the Counsellors of Scotland', in which they discussed, among other matters, the

[1] *Hist. Engl. Poet.*, iii, 428, edit. 8vo. He furnishes no more particular date than that of the year, and refers as his authority to Fox, *Martyrolog.* f. 1339, edit. 1576. We may mention, by the way, that Fox was not, as some have asserted, Vicar of Cripplegate, for the registration on the 20th April 1587 is merely, 'Buried, John Fox, house-holder, *preacher*': whenever a Vicar was buried, he was so called in the *Register*.

inclination of the King of Scotland 'concerning the Bishop of Rome, and for the reformation of the misusing of the spiritualtie in Scotlond.' The letter giving an account of the interview is without date, but it must have been sent to London very soon after the meeting: regarding the performance of Lyndsay's *Satire*, it contains the following information :— Bellendyn told Sir Wllliam Eure 'that the kyng of Scotts hym selfe, with all his temporall counsaile, was gretely gyven to the reformation of the mysdemeanors of busshops, religious persones, and priests within the realme; and so muche, that by the kyngs pleasure, he being prevey therunto, they have hade ane enterluyde played, in the feaste of the Epiphane of our Lorde laste paste, before the Kyng and the Quene at Lighqwoe, and the hoole counsaile spirituall and temporall, the hoole matier whereof concluded upon the declaracion of the noughtines in religion, the presumption of the busshops, the colluсion of the spirituall Corts, called the Concistory Courts in Scotland, and mysusing of priests. I have obteyned (adds Sir W. Eure) a noote from a Scotts man of our soorte, being present at the playing of the saide enterluyde, of the effecte thereof, which I doe sende unto your lordshipe by this berer. My lorde, the same Mr. Bellendyn shewed me, that after the saide enterluyde fynished, the King of Scotts dide call upon the busshop of Glascoe, being Chauncellor, and diverse other busshops, exorting thaym to reforme their facions and maners of lyving.'

The account of the interlude, supplied by 'a Scots man of our sort', who was present, is curious and minute, and it is in these terms :—

'The copie of the nootes of the enterluyde.

'In the first entres come in Solaice (whose parte was but to make mery, sing ballets with his fellowes, and drynke at the enterluyds of

the play) whoe showede firste to all the audiance the play to be played, whiche was a generall thing, meanying nothing in speciall to displeas noe man, praying therfor no man to be angre with the same. Nexte come in a King, whoe passed to his throne, having noe speche to thende of the playe, and then to raitefie and approve, as in plaine parliament, all things doon by the reste of the players, which represented the three estates. Withe hym come his courtiers Placebo, Pikthanke, and Flaterye, and such a like garde; one swering he was the lustieste, starkeste, best proportioned and most valiaunte man that ever was. An other swear he was the beste with longe bowe, crosebowe and culverein in the world. An other swear he was the beste juster and man of armes in the world, and soe furthe during thair partes. Therafter came a man armed in harnes withe a sword drawen in his hande, a Busshope, a Burges man, and Experience, clade like a doctor, whoe sate thaym all down on the deis, under the King. After thayme come a poor man, whoe did goe upe and downe the scaffald, making a hevie complaynte that he was heryed through the Courtiours taking his fence in one place, and alsoe his tacks in an other place, where throughe he had stayled his house, his wif and childeren beggyng thair brede, and soe of many thousand in Scotlande; which wolde make the kyngs grace lose of men if his grace stod neide, saying thair was no remedye to be gotten; for though he wolde suyte to the kings grace, he was naither acquaynted with controuller nor treasourer, and without thaym myght noe man gete noe goodnes of the king. And after he spered for the king, and whene he was shewed to the man that was king in the playe, he aunsuered and said he was noe king, for there is but one king, whiche made all, and governethe all, whoe is eternall, to whome he and all erthely kings ar but officers, of the whiche thay must make recknyng, and soe furthe much more to that effecte. And thene he loked to the king, and saide he was not the king of Scotland, for there was an other king in Scotlande, that hanged John Armestrong with his fellowes, and Sym the larde and many other moe, which had pacified the countrey and stanched thifte; but he had lefte one thing undon, which perteyned aswell to his charge as thother. And whene he was

asked what that was, he made a longe narracion of the oppression of the poor by the taking of the corse pesaunte beists, and of the herying of poor men, by concistorye lawe, and of many other abussions of the spiritualtie and churche, with many longe stories & auctorities. Thene the Busshope roise, and rebuked hym, saying it offered not to hym to speake suche matiers, commaunding hym scilence, or ells to suffer dethe for it by thayr lawe. Therafter roise the man of armes, alledginge the contrarie, and commaunded the poor men to speake, saying thayr abusion had been over longe suffered without any lawe. Thene the poore man shewed the great abusion of Busshopes, Preletts, Abbotts, reving menes wifes & doughters, and holding thaym; and of the maynteynyng of thair childer, and of thair over bying of lords and barrons eldeste sones to their doughters, wher thoroughe the nobilitie of the blode of the realme was degenerate. And of the greate superfluous rents that perteyned to the churche by reason of over muche temporall lands geven to thaym, whiche thaye proved that the kinge might take boothe by the canon lawe and civile lawe. And of the greate abomynable vices that reagne in clostures, and of the common bordells that was keped in Clostures of nunnes. All this was provit by Experience; and alsoe was shewed thoffice of a Busshope, and producit the New Testament with the auctorities to that effecte. And thene roise the man of armes, and the burges, and did saye that all was producit by the poor man, and Experience was reasonable, of veritie and of great effecte, and very expedient to be reaformede with the consent of the parliament. And the Busshope saide he wolde not consent therunto. The man of armes and Burges saide thay were twoe and he bot one, wherfor thair voice shuld have mooste effecte. Theraftre the King in the playe ratefied, approved, and confermed all that was rehersed.'

A comparison of this description with the production of Sir David Lyndsay, as republished by Mr. G. Chalmers,[1] will at once establish the identity. The biographer was not aware

[1] In 1806, among the *Works of Sir D. Lyndsay*, 3 vols., 8vo.

of the existence of these remarkable documents in the British Museum,[1] and he observes, 'what Lyndsay's intentions were, beyond the gratification of his present humour, it is not easy to discover.' The preceding extracts fully explain his intentions, and throw a new and strong light on the progress of the Reformation in Scotland. Chalmers notices the performance of Lyndsay's *Satire*, at Linlithgow in 1539 [1540], and he adds that it had previously been played at Coupar in 1535, but he quotes no authority. It was again played in 1554, and occupied no less than nine hours.

A very curious and in some respects a very interesting document has been preserved in the State-paper Office, which shews how far religious animosities had been carried at the very close of the reign of Henry VIII: it is dated the 10th January 1539, when, in fact, the old monarch was dying, and his son, it may be said, was on the steps of the throne. It may, possibly, be valuable on another account, for it might show that a very notorious play (hereafter examined) by John Bale, the protestant reformer, subsequently Bishop of Ossory, was actually in existence before Henry expired. We insert the document entire, exactly as it stands in the original, and with all its official formalities, which are characteristic of the time at which it was drawn up:—

> 'Witnes examined the 10th daye of January in the 30th yere of the reigne of our Soveraign Lorde King Henry the 8th, of certen wourdes which one Henry Totehill, of the parishe of Saincte Kateryns besides the Tower Hill, shipman, should speake in the house of one Thomas Brown of Shawlteclyff within the countie of Kente, concernyng the Bishop of Rome, and Thomas Becket some tyme Archebyshop of Canterbury.
>
> 'John Alforde of thage of 18 yeres examined saith, that by reason

[1] *Royal MSS.* 7, *C.* xvi.

that he had ben in Christmas tyme at my Lorde of Canterburys, and ther had harde an enterlude concernyng King John, about 8 or 9 of the clocke at nyght on Thursdaye the seconde daye of January last past spake theis wourdes folowing in the house of the said Thomas Brown, "That it ys petie that the Bisshop of Rome should reigne any lenger, for if he should, the said Bisshop wold do with our King as he did with King John." Wherunto (this deponent saith) that Henry Totehill answered and said, "That it was petie and nawghtely don to put down the Pope and Saincte Thomas, for the Pope was a good man, and Saincte Thomas savid many suche as this deponent was frome hangyng", whiche wourdes were spoken in the presence of Thomas Browne and one William ——— servaunte unto the said Totehill.

'Thomas Brown of the age of 50 yeres examined saith, that about 8 of the clocke on Fridaye the 3 daye of Januarye laste paste, as he remembereth, one Henry Totehill beyng in this deponentes house at Shawlteclyff, this deponent tolde, "That he hadde ben at my Lorde of Canterburys and there hadd harde one of the beste matiers that ever he sawe towching King John", and than sayd, "That he had harde dyvers times preistes and clerkes say that King John did loke like one that hadd rune from brynning of a house; butt this deponent knewe now that yt was nothing treu, for as far as he perceyved King John was as noble a prince as ever was in England, and therby we myght perceyve that he was the begynner of the puttyng down of the Bysshop of Rome, and thereof we myght be all glad." Than answered the said Totehill, "That the Busshope of Rome was made Pope by the clergie and by the consent of all the kinges Christen." Than said this deponent, "Hold your peace, for this communication ys nawght." Than said Totehill, "I am sorye if I have said amisse, for I thought no harme to no man." This communication was in the presence of John Alforde and a laborer of the said Totehill, and this deponente. And this deponente saithe that the said Totehill was drunken.

'This deponent examyned wherefore he thought the wourdes of

Totehill so nawght, saith, by cause he thought that he spake theym in the mayntenaunce of the Bysshop of Rome.

'Also, concerning the wourdes spoken of Thomas Beckette, this deponente aggreeth with the firste witnes.

'Anthony Marten, examyned whot he harde spoken of Henry Totehill syns he was in his custodie, or at any tyme before, saith, That he harde John Halforde reporte that Henry Totehill should saye, "That it was petie that Saincte Thomas was put down", and, "That the old lawe was as good as the newe"; and farther sayth that the sayd John Halforde reported, that Totehill said, "That the Bisshop of Rome was a good man", and this he harde the saide Halforde reporte bifore he toke him. And farther the forsaid Anthony Marten saith, that he demaunded one Thomas Brown (in whose house the said Totehill spake theis wourdes above rehersed), "What said Totehill?" and he saithe that the said Brown said, that the said Totehill hath spoken very evill, and whan he shoulde be examined, he would tell the truth.'

Hence we must infer one of two things, either that Bishop Bale's Play of *Kynge Johan* was considerably older than it was supposed to be, viz., of the reign of Edward VI, or that there were two distinct old dramas upon the same subject, which, considering the circumstances of the time, is hardly probable. We therefore take it that the above document of 1539, may apply to a play into which Bale subsequently introduced such novelties as better enforced his protestant views at the date when he inserted them: then, of course, it was that he mentioned the death of Henry VIII, whom he calls—'That Duke Joshua, our late King Henry', and various other matters rendered necessary by the altered circumstances of the times. It is clear that this historico-religious drama afterwards became popular, and in the manuscript that has come down to our time, it is amended, altered, and added to in hundreds of places.[1]

[1] It was printed *in extenso* by the Camden Society in 1838, but it is of

The Corporation of London, from a very early date, appears to have been inimical to stage-plays; and no doubt they were sometimes the occasion of disturbances, if not of corruption of manners. Prior to April 1543, they had adopted regulations for the suppression of them within the boundary of the city; but some players, acting under the protection of the then Lord Warden (whether of the Marches, or of the Cinque Ports does not appear), broke through these orders, and upon complaint to the Lords of the Council, the offenders were committed to the Counter. This fact is recorded in the Registers of the Privy Council in the following manner, and it is, we believe, the earliest entry upon the subject of theatrical amusements in those volumes.

A. D. 1543.

'St. James, 10th April 1543.

'Certayn Players belonging to the Lord Warden, for playing contrarye to an order taken by the Mayor on that behalf, were commited to the Counter.'[1]

In the same year, the first Act of Parliament was passed

so remarkable a character that we have elsewhere examined it in some detail. Bale employed an amanuensis, but the MS. was corrected by him, and in his own hand-writing.

[1] In connection with this entry, perhaps, ought to be noticed the draught of an address to the King from the House of Commons, among other things, complaining of the non-observance of holidays, and of the exhibition of stage-plays upon them. It was among the papers of Cromwell, in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and as it is without date, it is not possible to assign it to any particular year. The paragraph which relates to the stage is in these terms:

'And also where a great nomber of holye dayes, which now at this present tyme with very small devocion is solemnised and kept throughout this your realme, uppon the which many grete abhomynable & execrable vices, ydle and wanton sportes, and plaies of the staige ben used and exercised, which holye dayes, if it may stonde with your gracious pleasure, and specially suche as fall in the harvest, might by your

for the control and regulation of the stage and dramatic representations[1]—the 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 1; it was the earliest statute of the Session, and it affords proof of the vacillations of the King on the subject of religion: it has for title, 'An act for the advancement of true religion and the punishment of the contrary.' The preamble[2] states, that divers persons, 'of their perverse, forward & malicious minds, wills & intents, intending to subvert the very true and perfect exposition, doctrine and declaration of the Scripture, after their perverse fantasies, have taken upon them not only to preach, teach, declare and set forth the same by words, sermons, disputations, & arguments; but also by printed books, printed ballads, plays, rhymes, songs and other fantasies:'[3] the body of the statute therefore enacts, that no such works

Majestie, by the advice of your most honorable Counsell, Prelats, and Ordynaries, be made fewer in nombre; and those that shall be hereafter ordyned to stonde and continew might and may be more devoutly, religiously, and reverently observyd, to the lawde of almighty god, and to the encrease of your high honor and fame.'

[1] The statutes of the 4 Henry IV, c. 27, against *Westours*, *Rymours*, *Ministralx et autres vacabondes*, and of the 3 Henry VIII, c. 9, against Mummers who went about in disguise, had, we apprehend, no direct view to theatrical performances or players.

[2] Malone, not referring to the act itself, but apparently taking some puritanical writer's false representation of its contents, tells us that the preamble sets forth that the statute was passed 'with a view that the kingdom should be purged and cleansed of all *religious plays*, *interludes*, rhymes, ballads, and songs, which are equally pestiferous and noisome to the commonweal'. (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 32.) It may be enough to say that the act in question has no such preamble, and that '*religious* plays' are not mentioned in any part of it. It is singular that so accurate a man as Ritson should adopt Malone's mistaken representation on this point. See *Ancient Songs*, new edit., i, lxxx.

[3] In his speech on dismissing his Parliament, in December 1545, when he unexpectedly took the duty out of the hands of the Lord Chancellor,

shall be printed or published, and that no person shall 'play in interludes, sing, or rhyme any matter' contrary to the doctrines of the Church of Rome: the penalty in either case is a fine of 10*l.*, and imprisonment for three months for the first offence, and forfeiture of all goods and commitment to 'perpetual prison' for the second offence. To show, however, that this law was not directed against all theatrical performances, a proviso is added in favour of 'songs, plays and interludes', which have for object, the rebuking and reproaching of vices, and the setting forth of virtue; so always the said songs, plays, or interludes meddle not with the interpretation of Scripture.'

How far this statute was rendered necessary by the theatrical productions of the time it is hardly possible for us to judge,[1] since few of the interludes, intended at so early a date to advance the interests of religion, have descended to us. That many had been written there can be no doubt; and a novel piece of evidence regarding them has fallen into our hands, which was found among the correspondence in the Chapter-house, Westminster. It is a letter from Thomas Wylley, who styles himself Vicar of Yoxford in Suffolk, in which he complains to the Lord Privy Seal, that the priests of that county would not allow him to preach in their churches, because he had made a play against

Henry thus alludes to the ballads, rhymes, etc., by which the Scriptures were still deformed:—'I am very sorry to know, and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the word of God, is disputed, rimed, sung, and jangeled, in everie alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same.' Hall's *Chronicle*, *Anno* 1545.

[1] In 1542 was printed, by Robert Wyer for Richard Bankes, *The Maydens Dreme*, by Christopher Goodwyn. He had been an author in 1520, when Wynkyn de Worde printed his *Chaunce of a Dolorous Louer*, and, probably, *The Maydens Dreme* had been published before it came

the Pope's councillors: he also mentions in it several other dramatic performances of a religious character, of which he was the author, or which he was then composing. It is without date, but it was evidently written soon after 1535, when Cromwell was appointed visitor-general of the monasteries: it is in these singular terms:—

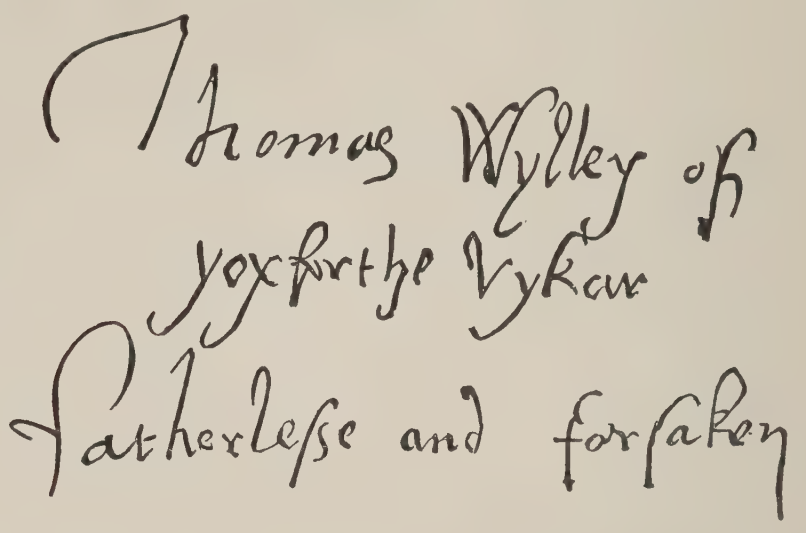
> 'The Lorde make you the instrument of my helpe, Lorde Cromwell, that I may have fre lyberty to preche the trewthe.
>
> 'I dedycat and offer to your Lordeshype A Reverent Receyvyng of the Sacrament, as a Lenton matter, declaryd by vj chyldren, representyng Chryst, the worde of God, Paule, Austyn, a Chylde, a Nonne called Ignorancy; as a secret thyng that shall have hys ende ons [once] rehersyd afore your eye by the sayd chyldren.
>
> 'The most part of the prystes of Suff. wyll not reseyve me ynto ther chyrchys to preche, but have dysdaynyd me ever synns I made a play agaynst the popys Counselerrs, Error, Colle Clogger of Conscyens, and Incredulyte.[1] That, and the Act of Parlyament had not folowyd after, I had be countyd a gret lyar.
>
> 'I have made a playe caulyd A Rude Commynawlte. I am a makyng of a nother caulyd The Woman on the Rokke, yn the fyer of faythe a fynyng, and a purgyng in the trewe purgatory; never to be seen but of your Lordshyp's eye.

from the press of Wyer. In it a young lady is advised to resort to banquets and plays daily, as if they were of constant occurrence.

> 'At bankettes and playes be present dayly,
> At great feastes and tornays, where moste people resorte:
> To moche to be fearefull doth greatly dyscomforte.'

[1] We have no farther intelligence regarding this piece, or any of the others of which Willey states himself to have been the author: the 'Lenten matter declared by six children', was evidently dramatic, and his other productions 'against the Pope's counsellors', and 'A rude commonalty', he himself terms 'plays'. The name of Thomas Wylley is new in dramatic history.

'Ayde me for Chrystys sake that I may preche chryst.'



Cromwell had been beheaded some years when the statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII was passed, but it was aimed at dramatic productions similar to those written by Wylley, and regarding which he seems to have taken the visitor-general into his confidence. The act produced considerable alarm among the favourers of the new religion, and excited fresh animosity against the Roman Catholics. It is hardly to be expected, that these consequences should appear in contemporary publications in England; but in the very year when the statute was passed, a writer of the name of Henry Stalbridge printed abroad, and dated from Basle, 'The Epistle Exhortatory of an English Christian to his dearly beloved Country', which contains the following vituperation, addressed to the Roman Catholics, and referring in terms to the 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 1 :—

'None leave ye unvexed and untrobled—no, not so much as the poore minstrels, and players of enterludes, but ye are doing with them. So long as they played lyes, and sange baudy songes, blasphemed God, and corrupted mens consciences, ye never blamed

them, but were verye well contented. But sens they persuaded the people to worship theyr Lorde God aryght, accordyng to hys holie lawes and not yours, and to acknoledge Jesus Chryst for their onelye redeemer and saviour, without your lowsie legerdemains, ye never were pleased with them.'

Two of Bales's religious plays, in which the principles of the Reformation are strenuously advocated, and various popish doctrines confuted, as from the mouth of the Saviour himself, were printed abroad about six years before the passing of the act in question. It is in the years 1544 and 1545 that, in the accounts of the expenses of the crown, we meet with no entries of salaries or gifts to the King's, Queen's, or Prince's players of interludes. Whether, as has been already suggested, this silence be attributable to the unsettled state of the public mind on points of religion must be matter of speculation. A. D. 1544.

In 1546, it has been generally supposed, Henry VIII created a new office for the management and control of the pastimes of his Court, under the title of *Magister jocorum, revellorum, et mascorum*:[1] a patent for this purpose was then granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden, who had long been one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber. There is some doubt, we apprehend, whether he was, in fact, the first master of the revels, as, in the Lansdown collection of MSS.,[2] we find a trace of the appointment having been given to another individual, though it was certainly not long retained by him: it is in a paper headed:—*Feod: pro offic: conces: per Dom Henricum, nup: regem Angl: viij, pro term^e vitæ;* and the particular entry to which I refer runs thus: '*Edm. Tho. M^o. Jocorum et revellorum*, 10*l.* The *M^o.* may be, and no doubt it is to be, taken as the abbreviation of *Magistro;* and, hence it would seem, that a person, for whose names 'Edm. Tho.'

[1] Chalmers' *Apology for the Believers*, 475.

[2] No. 156.

stands in the account, had an annuity of 10*l.* granted to him by Henry VIII, for term of life, as 'master of the games and revels'. The document from which this information is derived seems to have been made out just after the decease of Henry VIII; and we can only reconcile the difficulty by supposing, that there was a Master of the Revels, appointed for life, anterior to the patent to Sir Thomas Cawarden.[1] Perhaps he was superseded, and the annuity of 10*l.* allowed him as a compensation for the loss. In the same MS. a distinguished player, not before mentioned, of the name of John Yonge, is allowed an annuity of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* as *agitator comediarum*, a more precise designation of an actor of plays than is usually given. To *Alex^o Johanni et al. Music^m* were allowed 183*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; 18*l.* 5*s.* to a 'drum-player', and 38*l.* to two 'players upon instruments.'

It is not to be forgotten that the creation of the office of Master of the Revels did not at all render needless, according to the practice of those times, the temporary appointment of a Lord of Misrule, or, as he was afterwards sometimes called, Lord of the Pastimes, whose business it was not so much to regulate, as to provide entertainment at Christmas.

The patent of Sir Thomas Cawarden bears date 11th of March 1545 (according to our present mode of reckoning, 1546), and in it the place is termed, '*Officium Magistri Jocorum, Revellorum, et Mascorum omnium et singulorum nostrorum, vulgariter nuncupatorum* Revells *et*

A. D. 1546.

[1] This may have been John Bernard, who, in 36 Henry VIII, had a patent as keeper *omnium et singulorum pavillionum et tentorum nostrorum, vulgariter nuncupatorum*, 'tents, halls, and pavillions', and 'of all vestments for revells, maskes, and maskings', but how long he continued to hold the office is not stated. His pay was eight pence a day, and, possibly it was only a temporary office, created for some particular occasion; but the appointment was made out in due form, and in Latin.

Masks', and the salary is called '*vadium et feodum decem librarum sterlingarum*',[1] not so much as was usually paid to the Lord of Misrule for his services during the twelve days of Christmas. Sir Thomas Cawarden, however, derived other emoluments from his situation as one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber.[2] The Yeoman of the Revels had a salary of 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and we may suppose that he discharged the more laborious duties of the office. After March 1545-6, the following, as we find from a document in the State Paper Office, was the dramatic and musical establishment of the King.

	£	s.	d.
Master of the Revels	10	0	0
Yeoman of the Revels	9	2	6
Eight players of interludes, at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each per annum[3]	26	13	4
Three singers, at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each	20	0	0
Two singers, at 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* each	18	5	0
Two harpers, one at	18	5	0
Two harpers, the other at	20	0	0
A bag-piper	12	3	4
Two flute players, one at	30	0	0
Two flute players, the other at	18	5	0
A sergeant trumpeter, and 15 other trumpeters, at 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each	413	13	4
	£596	7	6

[1] The instrument is printed at length in Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv, 62.

[2] On the 23rd of March, 33 Henry VIII, Sir Thomas Cawarden, and Elizabeth his wife, obtained, under the privy seal, a grant of the manors of Ullicote and Loxley, in the county of Warwick. By a privy seal, dated the 20th of April of the same year, Marcus Antonio de Petala, '*unus tymphanistrorum nostrorum vocat.* sagbuts', acquired the manor of Fiddington in Gloucestershire.

[3] In a contemporary list of the household of Henry VIII, sold among the

This total expense is of course independent of gifts to players, etc., on New Year's day, as well as of occasional rewards, and exclusive also of the establishment of the King's Chapel, both gentlemen and children.

When an inventory[1] was taken after the death of Henry VIII of all the tapestry, pictures, plate, jewels, and other goods of which he died possessed, it was found that he had no less than 99 vizors, or 'masks of sondry sorts', besides many sets of 'maskings beads', at Greenwich, which he and his courtiers were in the habit of wearing. None of his other property, excepting perhaps musical instruments, was even remotely connected with the subject of the present investigation. His books are always numbered, and not named, by the parties making out the account, with the following four exceptions, two of which are curious.

'Item, a square coffer with tilles, &c., with a boke conteyning the ymage of both churches.[2]

'Item, a case of lether, conteyninge patentes concernynge Quene Jane.

'Item, a booke of Kynge Henry VII, his foundation of the Chappell at Westminster.

'Item, a boke wrytten in parchement of the Processe betwene King Henry theight and the Ladye Katheryne Dowager.'

It does not appear that there was any production of a

Fairfax MSS., was the following entry of a then new name in the royal dramatic establishment:

'Maker of Interludes, Comedies, and Playes—John Young, pro Henry VIII:' and his wages are stated to have been 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per ann. He is mentioned with great distinction in the very singular tract *Beware the Cat*, printed in 1561 and again in 1584. See *Bibliographical Catalogue*, 1865, vol. i, p. 44.

[1] *Harl. MSS.*, No. 1419.

[2] By John Bale? We are not aware of any printed edition of this work prior to 1550.

dramatic kind in the King's private library, unless it were included among 'sundry bookes', the titles and contents of which are not given.

By the date at which we have now arrived, the Bankside, Southwark, had become notorious as the resort of vagabonds and ruffians of all descriptions, and in 37 Henry VIII, it was found necessary, by public authority, to clear the neighbourhood of all disreputable characters, and to employ the able bodied in the King's service, either in gallies or as soldiers: on the 26th May therefore a royal Proclamation was issued on the subject, which specially mentions 'ruffians, vagabonds, masterless men and *common players*', as obnoxious persons, fit to be expelled and punished: the terms employed are these, and they include a very miscellaneous collection of lawless personages; we quote them from the original printed document:—

'For reformation whereof like as his most royall Ma^tie^ hath thought convenient and doth determyne to vse and ymploie all such ruffyns, Vagabondes, Masterles men, *common players*, and evill disposed persons to serve his Ma^tie^ & his Realme in theis his warres in certaine Gallies and other like vesselles, whiche his highnes entendeth to arme forth against his enemyes before the first of June next comyng.'

By a passage in Tytler's *Edward VI and Mary*, vol. i, p. 20, it appears that the Earl of Oxford's Players were performing a comedy in Southwark, while a solemn Dirge for the soul of Henry VIII was being sung in the Church of St. Saviour.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

DURING THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI AND MARY.

IMMEDIATELY after the demise of Henry VIII, the Duke of
A. D. Somerset introduced various economical reforms into
1547. the royal household: many of the officers were dismissed, and a considerable reduction took place in the establishment of Musicians and Players.[1] A MS. in the Royal

[1] The following is an entry in an account by Sir William Cavendish, Treasurer of the King's Chamber, headed—

'Ult°. Septembris Anno Regis Ed. VJ, sexto.'

'Players of Enterludes:—

'George Birche, lxvj^{s}. viij^{d}.; Richard Cooke, lxvj^{s}. viij^{d}.; Richarde Skynner, lxvj^{s}. viij^{d}.; Henry Harryot, lxvj^{s}. viij^{d}.; John Birche, lxvj^{s}. viij^{d}.; Thomas Sowthey, lxvj^{s}. viij^{d}.'

Here we have a George Birche and Thomas Sowthey, not in the official list as printed, and no John Smith. This account was in one of the MSS. of the Trevelyan family, now in the British Museum.

In the account of Sir William Cavendish for 1 Edw. VI, we meet with this entry at Midsummer and repeatedly afterwards:—

'Item to Robert Hinstocke and George Birch, plaires of enterludes, xxxiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.'

The 'minstrels' are thus named in the same account for July:—Hugh Pallarde, Edward Laeke, Thomas Lye, Thomas Curson, Robert Maye, Alayn Robenson, and Thomas Pagington (no doubt the composer of the famous old tune, *Pagington's Pound*).

Besides these, Edw. VI had a set of six Italian minstrels, separately

Collection in the British Museum,[1] makes this point quite clear: one division of it is headed, 'The names of such officers in ordynary of the chamber of the late Kynges Majestie now discharged'; but it is much decayed, and although the word 'Players' yet remains, the names of those who were dismissed, originally subjoined, are wanting. The other division of the MS., entitled, 'The names of such of the Kynges Majesties servaunts as are nuely in ordinary of the chamber', is in a perfect state, and exhibits not only the numbers, but the names of the 'Musicians' and 'Players' retained by the Protector: they are the following.

'Musicians,

Hugh Pollard,	Allwyn Robson,
Edward Lak,	Robert Mey,
Thomas Lee,	Thomas Pagington,
Thomas Curzon,	

paid at a higher rate than others who were allowed only 12*d.* a day, whereas the Italian minstrels, viz.,

Albert de Venitia	Ambrosio de Lapi de Millan
Mark Antonio Galiardello di Bressa	Francisco Bellino de Venetia
Georgio de Cremonia	Vincento de Venetia

were paid 20*d.* a day. These men seem to have been selected from the 'players on the vials' ordinarily employed, and were not fresh importations. There was another set of foreign minstrels rewarded at New Year's Day, 1 Edw. VI, whose names were all Bassian or Bassiam, for it is spelt both ways, viz.,

Lewes de Bassian	John de Bassiam
Anthony de Bassiam	Baptist Bassiam
Jasper de Bassiam	

Names that have before occurred. The entertainment of all these performers does not look like economy, and, perhaps, the date was prior to the reform introduced by the Protector, and led to it, by rendering it necessary.

[1] *Royal MSS.*, 7 *C.* xvi.

'Players,

Richard Cok,	Henry Heryet,
John Birch,[1]	John Smyth.'

Here we observe several names, for the first time included in the list of royal performers of interludes; and we may infer that, among those who were discharged, were Hinstocke, Slye, Parlowe, and Young, the mention of whom occurs late in the reign of Henry VIII. If, therefore, what is supposed to have been the Household-book of Edward VI, among the Harleian MSS., without a date, apply, in fact, to the reign of that King, it probably belongs to a period after the death of the Duke of Somerset; for there we find an entry of eight 'Players of Interludes', each of whom received a fee of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* annually.[2]

It is not at all unlikely, that on the accesion of Edward VI the Protector, who assumed all the authority of King, took into his pay at least some of the discharged players of Henry VIII; and it is an undisputable fact, that the Duke of

[1] If this, as is probable, be the same player who is mentioned in the account books of the reign of Henry VIII, his Christian name has been mistaken—it was George; but there was a John Birch.

[2] The following is the form in the department of '*The Revells.*—The Mr. —— fee, x*li.*; the Yoman —— fee, ix*l.* ij*s.* vj*d.* *Musissians and Players.*—Players of Enterluds, in nomber viij, fee to every of them, lxvj*s.* viij*d.* by the yeare, xxvj*l.* viij*s.* iiij*d.*' The names of the King's minstrels are extant in the register of the Privy Council, as quoted by Chalmers (*Apology*, p. 348), viz., Hugh Woudehous, Marshal, John Abbes, Robert Stouchey, Hugh Grene, and Robert Norman. Their salaries were 50 marks a year (*Harl. MSS.*, No. 240). Hugh Woudehous, or Woodhouse, received his appointment of Marshal of the Minstrells as early as 7th May 1529, when Henry VIII gave him wages of 4½*d.* per day, and an annual salary of 10 marks, as *Marescallus Ministrallorum nostrorum.* Vide Rymer's *Fœd.*, vi, pt. 2. It is stated in the instrument, that he succeeded John Gylmyn in that office.

Somerset entertained a company of theatrical servants: the name of one of his performers has survived, Myles;[1] and although it does not occur among those of Henry VIII, at any former period, some of his fellows might have been selected from the older theatrical retainers of the crown.

The young Prince succeeded his father on the 28th of January 1547; and, according to the Register of the Council, on the 12th of January, a warrant had been given to Sir Thomas Darcy for 60*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* for pikes, lances, and other necessaries, for jousts and triumph at Shrovetide, when, as was not unusual on such occasions, the performance of plays might form part of the revels: they would not come within the province of Sir Thomas Darcy, and are, therefore, perhaps, not mentioned in the warrant he obtained.

During the reign of Henry VIII, the apparel and furniture for the revels and masks at Court were kept at Warwick Inn; but, when Edward VI came to the throne, they were removed to the Blackfriars.[2] That dissolved monastery was valued at 104*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*; and, on the 12th of November, 30 Henry VIII, it was surrendered to the Crown. Four years after it had been made the depository of the dresses, etc., for Court entertainments, *viz.*, on the 12th of May 1551, Edward VI granted

[1] It occurs in a work with the following title, *A Booke of the nature and properties, as well of the bathes in England, as of other bathes in Germanye:* the writer says: 'for they [the waters of Bath] drye up wounderfully, and heale the goute excellentlye (and that in a short tyme), as with diverse other, one Myles, one of my Lord of Summersettes players, can beare witnesse.' It was printed in folio, at 'Collen, by Arnold Birckman', in 1568; but the preface is dated in 1557. The Duke of Somerset was beheaded on the 22nd January 1551-2.

[2] See a paper by Mr. Bray, in vol. xviii of the *Archæologia*, which contains some valuable information regarding the Lord of Misrule and Court entertainments. The cost of removing may be seen in Kempe's *Loseley MSS.*, p. 73.

to Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, the 'whole house, scite, or circuit, compass, and precinct of the Blackfriars.'[1] At this date, a person of the name of John Holte was Yeoman of the Revels, and had the custody '*omnium apparell: trappers, maskes et revells.*' The Clerk of the Revels was Richard Lees, and his salary was 12*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*,[2] a larger sum than was allowed either to the Master or to the Yeoman; but they, perhaps, had other allowances, the nature and amount of which are not distinctly pointed out.[3]

The accounts of the Revels at Shrovetide, 1 Edward VI, present some curious particulars.[4] They were held at Westminster, and a mount (similar to, or perhaps, the same as that mentioned in the reign of Henry VIII) was removed from Blackfriars to Westminster, and back again. The Lord of Misrule, whoever he might be, was provided with a gilt vizard, and 563¾ yards of cloth were consumed in liveries for his attendants. One of these attendants was his fool, a part, no doubt, filled by William Somers, the celebrated jester of

[1] *Stow's Survey* by Strype, b. iii, p. 177, etc. Both Black and White Friars were out of the jurisdiction of the City; and in 1586, a contest arose between the Corporation and the inhabitants, as to the right of the former to enter and arrest malefactors who took shelter in the precincts. The privileges were confirmed, and the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen defeated of their claim.

[2] *Lansdown MSS.*, No. 156. The paper is entitled 'Feod: pro offic: concess: per Dom. Edwardum nup. regem Angl. vj, pro termo vitæ.' It does not specify the salaries of any players; but it appears there that Augustino Bassano, a musician, received 36*l.* 10*s.* per annum.

[3] Richard Bower was master of the children of the chapel in the reign of Edward VI; and, according to Strype (*Eccl. Mem.*, ii, 839), in June 1552, he had a warrant authorising him to take up children from time to time to supply vacancies, as they might occur among the choristers.

[4] We are indebted here to the information supplied by Mr. Bray, in vol. xviii of the *Archæologia*. The documents to which he referred were preserved at Losely, near Guildford.

Henry VIII, who is mentioned by name. The plays were, probably, Morals, as a dagger for the Vice was provided among the properties, and a ladle, with a bawble pendent, was delivered to the fool of the Lord of Misrule. An actor was especially rewarded for playing 'the Italian', but we have no further information as to the nature of his part. The preparations for these entertainments occupied from the 1st to the 28th of February.

According to Stow,[1] on Shrove Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday in the next year, 'great jousts and warlike feats were done in the park at Greenwich', for the amusement of the young King; but we have no record of the performance of plays. A. D. 1548.

The internal commotions in various parts of the kingdom, perhaps, interfered in some degree with the Court amusements; and in 1549 it seems to have been thought by the advisers of the King, that it was expedient, for a time at least, to put an end to the performance of interludes and plays for the entertainment of the people. We can now only form conjectures as to the motives which led to the publication of the proclamation of the 6th of August in that year, but from its terms we may gather that theatrical representations had been at this date applied to political purposes. The statute of 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 1, 'for the advancement of true religion and the punishment of the contrary', had been repealed by the act of 1 Edward VI, c. 12; and the proclamation of 6th of August 1549, in its terms at least, does not imply that it was directed against dramatic representations, because they touched upon matters of religion or points of doctrine. It is not, we believe, extant in the separate form of a proclamation, as it was doubtless originally issued, upon a broad sheet, but it is in a collection in 8vo, printed A. D. 1549.

[1] *Chronicle*, 1615, p. 1002.

by Richard Grafton, in 1550, 'of suche proclamacions as have been sette furthe by the Kynge's Majestie.' It prohibited the representation of *interludes and plays* throughout the realm from the 6th of August 1549 (two days after it was promulgated), till the feast of All Saints following, on the ground that they contained matter tending to sedition, and to the contempt of sundry good orders and laws. We have subjoined it in a note, but it is necessary to observe that the period of its publication has hitherto been misstated: Chalmers[1] gives it as 6th August, 1547: the only date it bears is 'the vj day of August', without the year; but Grafton printed it among the proclamations issued in the 3d of Edward VI, and to that year it belongs.[2]

[1] *Apology for the Believers*, etc., p. 344. Malone fell into the same error. *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 44.

[2] 'The vj daie of August.

'A Proclamation for the inhibition of Plaiers.

'For asmuche as a greate nomber of those that be common Plaiers of Enterludes and Plaies, as well within the citie of London, as els where within the realme, do for the moste part plaie suche Interludes as contain matter tendyng to sedicion and contempnyng of sundery good orders and lawes, where upon are growen, and daily are like to growe and ensue, muche disquiet, division, tumultes, and uproares in this realme; the Kynges majestie, by the advise and consent of his derest Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governour of his persone, and Protector of his realmes, dominions, and subjectes, and the rest of his highnes privie Counsall straightly chargeth and commaundeth al and every his Majesties subjectes, of whatsoever state order or degree thei bee, that from the ix daie of this present moneth of August untill the feast of all Sainctes nexte commyng, thei, ne any of them, openly or secretly plaie in the Englishe tongue any kynde of Interlude, Plaie, Dialogue or other matter set furthe in forme of Plaie, in any place publique or private within this realme, upon pain that whosoever shall plaie in Englishe any such Play, Interlude, Dialogue or other matter, shall suffre inprisonment, and further punishment at the pleasure of his Majestie.'

'For the better execution wherof his Majestie, by the said advise and

Although this inhibition was only to be in force for less than two months, as it would expire on the 1st of November 1550, we have evidence of an authentic kind, that it was continued in operation some time afterwards. In June A. D. 1551, the players attached to the households of noble- 1551. men were not allowed to perform, even in the presence of their patrons, without special leave from the Privy Council.[1] The following is extracted from the Registers of that body, as preserved in the British Museum.[2]

'At Grenwiche the 21 day of June ann° 1551.

'A letter to the lord Marques Dorset signifying Licence to be graunted for to have his plaieres to playe onlye in his lordshipes presence.'[3]

consent, straightly chargeth and commaundeth all and singuler maiors, sherifes, bailifes, constables, hedborowes, tithyng men, justices of peace, and all other his Majesties hed officers in all the partes throughout the realme, to geve order and speciall heede, that this Proclamacion be in all behalfes well and truely kept and observed, as thei and every of them tender his highnes pleasure, and will avoyde his indignacion.'

[1] The subsequent quotation from Dugdale's *Origin. Jurid.*, p. 285, proves that the authorities of Gray's Inn at this date endeavoured to check the representation of interludes by members of that society :—

'In 4 Edw. 6 (17 Nov.) it was also ordered that thenceforth there should be no Comedies, called Interludes, in this House out of term-time, but when the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord is solemnly observed. And that when there shall be any such Comedies, then all the Society at that time in Commons to bear the charge of the apparel.'

[2] *Harl. MSS.* No. 352.

[3] *Cotton MSS.*, *Vitellius* F. v, contains the following paragraph regarding a play called *Jube the Sane*, performed at the marriage of Lord Strange to the daughter of the Earl of Cumberland : this event occurred in the reign of Edward VI, but the date of the year is not given. We have no other record of any such play : probably it was scriptural, on the story of Job :—

'The 7 day of February was my lord Strange mared to the lade of Comberland, the erle of Comberlands doytur, and after a grett dener and

This inhibition, to whatever period it might have been extended subsequent to its first publication, had certainly ceased prior to April 1552; and there is every reason to believe, that the consequence was a still greater degree of license on the part of printers and players than they had before exercised. To such an excess does it seem to have been carried, that on the 18th of April 1552, it was found necessary to issue a very strong proclamation against both, forbidding the one to print and the other to play without special license under the sign manual, or under the hands of six of the Privy Council, on pain of imprisonment without bail or mainprise, and with fine at the king's pleasure. This document, however important, has hitherto escaped notice; but we found it among the volumes of proclamations belonging to the Society of Antiquaries. It is entitled :—

A. D. 1552.

'A Proclamation set furth by the kynges Majestie, with the advise of his highnes most honorable Counsail, for the reformation of vagabondes, tellers of newes, sowers of sedicious rumours, players and printers without licence, and divers other disordred persons, the 18th April in the 5 yere of his highnes most prosperous reigne.'

It is a long document, and only the following paragraph at the close relates to the subject before us :—

'And forbicause divers Printers, Bokeselers and Plaiers of Enterludes, without consideration or regarde to the quiet of the realme, do print sel and play whatsoever any light and phantastical hed listeth to invent and devise, whereby many inconveniences hath, and dayly

---

justs, and after tornay on horsbake with swords, and after soper *Jube the Sane*, a playe, with torch lyghts and cresset lyghts, lx cressets and c of torches and a maske and a bankett.'

In the same MS. is another notice of a 'stage-play' at some feast, which is also termed 'a goodly matter', which lasted till twelve at night. The MS. is so injured by fire that nothing more regarding it can be made out: it was in part restored by the late Sir F. Madden.

doth, arise and follow, amonge the Kinges majesties lovyng and faithful subjectes: His highnes therfore straightly chargeth and commaundeth, that from hencefurth no printer, or other person, do print nor sel within this realme, or any other his majesties dominions, any matter in thenglish tong, nor they nor any other person do sel, or otherwise dispose abrode, any matter printed in any forreyn dominion in thenglishe tongue, onles the same be firste allowed by his majestie, or his privie counsayl, upon payne of imprisonment, without bayle or mayneprice, and further fine at his majesties pleasor. Nor that any common players, or other persons, upon like paines, do play in thenglish tong any maner Enterlude, Play, or matter, without they have special licence to shew for the same, in writing under his majesties signe, or signed by vj of his highnes privie counsaill: willing and straightly charging and commaunding all Justices, Mayors, Shirifes, Bailifes, Constables, and other officers and ministers, diligently to enquire for, and serche out al maner offenders within the limites and compasse of their commissions,' etc.

There is nothing in these Proclamations to lead to the supposition, that the objection of the Court was to dramatic performances, in which the doctrines either of the Roman Catholics, or of the Reformers, were attacked: the complaint seems to have been, that they touched upon political topics; and on the 10th of June following the last Proclamation, a poet who had made plays contrary to its provisions, and who had therefore been sent to the Tower, was ordered to be liberated.[1]

The entertainments at Court, consisting of Tournaments,

[1] Chalmers (*Apol. for the Believers*, p. 346) first brought forward this circumstance from the Council Registers, where it is entered in the following manner:—

'At Greenwich, 10th June 1552. It was this day ordered that the Lord Treasurer should send for the poet, which is in the Tower for making plays, and to deliver him.'

Masks and Plays, were revived with unusual splendour at Christmas 1551-2. At this date the Duke of Somerset, the King's Uncle, was awaiting execution in the Tower, the sentence against him being carried into effect by his decapitation on the 22nd January. Holinshed thus speaks of the festivities at Greenwich during the Christmas which preceded that remarkable event.

'Wherefore, as well to remoove fond talk out of mens mouths, as also to recreat and refresh the troubled spirits of the yoong king, who (as saith Grafton) seemed to take the trouble of his Uncle somewhat heavilie, it was devised that the feast of Christs nativitie, commonlie called Christmasse, then at hand, should be solemnlie kept at Greenwich, with open houshold and franke resort to Court (which is called keeping of the hall) what time, of old ordinarie course, there is alwaies one appointed to make sporte in the Court, called commonly Lord of Misrule: whose office is not unknowne to such as have been brought up in noble mens houses, & among great housekeepers which use liberall feasting in that season. There was, therefore, by order of the Councill, a wise gentleman and learned, named George Ferrers,[1] appointed to that office for this yeare; who being of better credit & estimation than commonlie his predecessors had been before, received all his commissions and warrants by the name of the maister of the kings pastimes. Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundrie sights, and devises of rare inventions, and in act of diverse interludes, and matters of pastime, plaied by persons, as not onelie satisfied the common sort, but also were very well liked and allowed by the Councill, and other of skill in the like pastimes; but best of all by the yoong king himselfe, as appered by his princelie liberalitie in rewarding that service.'[2]

[1] Kemp's *Losely MSS.*, p. 23, mentions this circumstance, but does not add anything material: Ferrers was one of the authors of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, first published in 1559.

[2] Holinshed, *Chron.*, p. 1067, edit. 1587. *Cotton MS.*, *Vitellius*, *F.* v, is a very curious chronicle of events, public and private, in the reigns of

George Ferrers, who was thus chosen 'Master of the King's Pastimes' (discharging in fact the functions of Lord of Misrule under a new title), was, as Warton states, 'a lawyer, poet,

Edw. VI, Mary, and the first three years of Elizabeth. The writer of it was an ignorant man, but he had relations at Court, and he speaks of his 'gossip Harper, servand unto the Queens grace'. The MS. has been greatly damaged by fire, and it is not possible always to ascertain the precise dates referred to, as the leaves are not paged, and they have been here and there confused. To the occasion referred to in the text, we may assign the following minute description of the entrance of the King's Lord of Misrule into London, where he was received by the Lord of Misrule of one of the Sheriffs. The asterisks denote places where the MS. is incomplete in consequence of fire.

'The 4 day of January, affor non, landyd at the Tower warff the Kyngs Lord of Mysrull & ther met hym the Sheryffs Lord of Misrule with ys [his] men, and every on havyng a rebyn * * and whytt abowt ther nekes, & then ye trumpets, mores dansse and tabrett; & he toke a swaerd and bare yt afore the Kyngs Lord of Mysrull, for the lord was gorgyously arrayed in purpull welvet, furyd with armyn, & ys robe brodered with spangulls of selver full, and abowt ym syngers, and a for hym on grett horsses and in cotts & clokes of * * inbrodered with gold and with balderyks * * whytt and blue sarsenett * * of his servands in blew, gardyd with whytt; & next after ys consell in blew taffata, and ther capes of whytt, & ys trumpeters taburs drummers & fluts, & ys mores dansse, guns, mores pykes, bagpypes and ys masks * * & his gaylleys with pelere stokes, & ys axe, gyffes, & bolts, * * sum fast by the legs & sum by the nekes, & so rod thrughe Marke lane & so thrugh Grasyus strett and Cornhill * * trumpets blohyng makyng a proclamacion * * and so the Kyngs lord was caried from * * skaffold; & after the Sheryffs lord and the Kyngs * * the Sheryffs lord a gowne with gold & sylver & * * after he knelyd downe, & he toke a sword and gayff * * strokes & mad ym knyght; & after they draw * * upon a skaffold & ys cofferers cast * * gold & sylver in every plase as they rod * * after ys carege with his cloth saykes on horse back * * abowt chepe with ys gayllers and ys presonars * * & the two lords toke ther horsys & rod unto * * Mare to dener; & after he cam bake thrugh * * to the crosse & so done Wod-strett unto the Sheryffs * * more alf a nore, & so forthe the old Jury & * * unto my lord

and historian',[1] and well qualified to give new spirit and importance to the royal revels over which he was appointed to preside. He had been selected for this purpose in November preceding, and on the 30th of that month, a warrant was issued for the advance of 100*l.* to him 'towards the necessary charges of his appointment.'[2] What was the total expense upon this occasion, we have no means of knowing; but, a document in the British Museum, containing a statement of the debts of Edward VI, 'externe and within the realme', represents, that in 1551 he owed 1000*l.* to the office of the Revells under Sir Thomas Cawarden.[3]

A book, entitled *Beware the Cat*, bearing the initials G. B. as its author, and first printed (according to Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.*, p. 118) in 1561, and (according to Herbert, *Ames*, p. 1238) again, in 1570 and 1584, contains some singular and hitherto unpublished particulars regarding the drama in the reign of Edward VI, when George Ferrers was 'Master of the King's Pastimes.' It is inserted in what is termed the introduction, or 'argument', of the work; and it not only affords a curious picture of the manners of the time, but mentions a play called *Æsop's Crow*, performed by the King's

tresorers plasse, & ther they had * * banket the spasse of alf a nore; & so don to byshopgatt, & to ledenhall, & thrugh fanchyrche strett, & so to the towre warffe; and the sheryffs lord gohyn with hym with torche lyght; & ther the Kyngs lord toke ys pynnes with a grett shott of gonnes, & so the sheryffs lord toke ys leyff of ym, & cam home merele with his mores danse daunsyng, & so forth.'

[1] *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, iii, 208, edit. 8vo.

[2] This fact appears by the register of the Privy Council, as cited by Chalmers in his *Apology for the Believers*, p. 347.

[3] In 4 and 5 Edward VI, the King's players exhibited at Court, and received the customary reward. Garments were provided for them, as well as for the young lords; and 12*d.* is charged in the account for painting the coat of Will. Somers, the King's fool. *Archæologia*, vol. xviii.

players at Court, in which most of the actors were dressed as birds. It seems that the author of *Beware the Cat*, whoever he might be, had contributed to the 'devising' of certain interludes for the King's recreation. The following is all that relates to our immediate purpose.[1]

[1] It is a work of such extreme rarity and singularity, that we ought not to omit to describe it minutely in a note, and to make more than ordinary extracts from it. The title-page is unfortunately wanting in the only known copy; but it has the following colophon:—

'Imprinted at London at the long shop adjoining vnto Saint Mildred's Church in the Pultrie, by Edward Allde, 1584.'

That it was originally printed considerably earlier there can be no doubt. It is a very strange work, and some verses preceding the edition of 1584 and entitled, 'T. K. to the Reader', explain why, when first published (probably in 1561), it was suppressed.

'This little book Beware the Cat,
moste pleasantly compil'd,
In time obscured was, and so
since that hath been exilde.

Exilde, because perchaunce at first
it shewed the toyes and drifts
Of such as then, by wiles & willes,
maintained Popish shifts.'

There are nine other such stanzas of much the same import, and they are followed by the dedication, 'To the right worshipful Esquire John Yung, grace and helth'; who was, no doubt, the John Young, 'maker of interludes, comedies, and playes' to Henry VIII. This is signed G. B., probably meaning Gulielmus Baldwin, and it begins—

'I have penned for your mastership's pleasure, one of the stories which M. Streamer tolde the last Christmas, and which you so faine would have had reported by M. Ferrers him selfe; and although I be unable to pen or speake the same so pleasantly as he coulde, yet have I so neerly used both the order and woords of him that spake them, which is not the least vertue of a reporter, that I dout not but that he and M. Willot shall, in the reading, think they hear M. Streamer speak, and he him self in the like action shal dout whether he speaketh or readeth.'

'It chaunced that at Christemas last I was at Court with Maister Ferrers, then Maister of the Kings Majesties Pastimes, aboot setting foorth of sertain Interludes, which for the King's recreation we had

---

And so it proceeds in a bantering strain, mentioning a translation by Streamer from the Arabic, called *The Cure of the Great Plague:* he is made the supposed narrator of the whole body of the tract, and he is represented as having been at the University of Oxford, and 'skilled in the tunges, chiefly the Calde, Arabic, and Egyptian'. It seems probable that Streamer was Court Jester, with a lively invention, and in the habit of giving such narrations as *Beware the Cat.* The scene is laid at the house of John Day, the printer, over Aldersgate ; and it is represented that a convocation of Cats was nightly held, drawn together by the savour of the quarters of traitors and malefactors there hung up. Willot is spoken of as the Lord's Astronomer, but it was only a humorous appointment, made at Christmas when the Lord of Misrule was in authority. Ferrers is spoken of by Streamer as the Lord of Misrule.

No doubt there is a great deal of satire and temporary allusion in the book, which is now lost. The attacks upon the Papists are not unfrequent, and may fully account for the suppression of *Beware the Cat* in 1561 and its re-publication in 1570 and 1584.

The main object is to make out that Cats have reason and speech, and that they even hold communication with each other in foreign countries by means of messengers. Streamer is supposed to tell the story—how that he was lodging at Day's while the 'Greeke Alphabets were in printing'—how he was nightly disturbed by caterwauling—how he saw the cats in conclave—how, in order to understand them, with the assistance of the work of Albertus Magnus, he made himself magical meat and drink, which so refined his faculties and senses, that he was able to understand the conversation of cats—how he nightly listened to what they said, etc., and how finally, by returning to common food again, he at once lost his power, and the caterwauling again became inarticulate.

The tract is divided into three parts, and in the first part occurs the following:—

'There is also in Ireland one nacion, whereof some one man and woman are at every seven yeeres end turned into Wulves, and so continue in the woods the space of seven yeers ; and if they happen to live out the time, they return to their own forme again, and other twain are

devised, and were in learning. In which time, among many other exercises among our selves, we used nightly at our lodging to talke of sundry things for the furtherance of such offices, wherein eche man

---

turned for the like time into the same shape, which is a penance (as they say) enjoyned that stock by St. Patrick for some wickednes of their ancestors: and that this is true witnesed a man whom I left alive in Ireland, who had performed this seven yeeres penance, whose wife was slain while she was a Wulf in her last yeer. This man told to many men whose cattel he had worried and whose bodyes he had assailed, while he was a wulf, so plain and evident tokens, and shewed such scarrs of wounds which other men had given him, bothe in his mannes shape before he was a wulf, and in his wulfs shape since, which all appered upon his skin, that it was evident to all men, yea and to the Bishop too (vpon whose grant it was recorded and registred), that the matter was undoutedly past peradventure.'

The author gives in verse (though printed as prose) the following humorous enumeration of the confused sounds he heard when, by means of broths and anointings with magical ingredients, he had sharpened his sense of hearing:

'Barking of doggs,
Grunting of hoggs,
Wauling of cats,
Rumbling of rats,
Gagling of geese,
Humming of bees,
Rousing of bucks,
Gagling of ducks,'

and many more. This is in the second part of the volume. The third part reminds us, here and there, strongly of the old *History of Reynard the Fox*. It consists chiefly of the narratives by cats of their adventures, which are not very humorous: one of the best is an account of a religious old woman, who employed herself in seducing the honest and virtuous wife of a citizen, which she did partly by persuading her that her daughter had been converted by witchcraft into a cat. One of the cats is called *Isegrim*, which is a name in *Reynard the Fox:* parts read like translation, and one of the cats goes by the name of Poylnoer, which, no doubt, is a corruption of the French for *black skin.*

The tract is ended by sixteen ten-syllable couplets, supposed to have

as then served; for which purpose it pleased Maister Ferrers to make me his bedfellowe, and upon a pallet cast upon the rushes in his owne Chamber, to lodge Maister Willott and Maister Stremer, the one his Astronomer, the other his Divine. And among many other things, too long to rehearce, it hapned on a night (which I think was the 28 of December) after that M. Ferrers was come from the Court, and in bed, there fell a controversie between Maister Streamer (who with Maister Willot had already slept their first sleep) and mee, that was newly come unto bed; the effect wherof was, whether Birds and Beasts had reason? the occasion therof was this. I had heard, that the King's Players were learning a play of Esop's Crowe,[1] wherin the moste part of the actors were birds, the devise wherof I discommended, saying it was not comicall to make either speechlesse things to speake, or brutish things to commun reasonably. And although in a tale it be sufferable to immagin and tel of some thing by them spoken, or reasonably doon (which kinde Esope lawdably used), yet it was uncomely (said I), and without example of any authour, to bring them in lively parsonages, to speake, do, reason, and allege authorites out of authours. M. Stremer, my Lorde's Divine, beeing more divine in this point then I was ware of, held the contrary parte, afferming, that beasts and foules have reason, and that asmuch as men, yea, and in some points more. M. Ferrers himself, and his Astronomer, waked with our talk, and harkned to us, but would take parte on neither side.'

This extract serves to shew the character of the pieces then ordinarily represented at Court, and got up, and performed by the company called 'the King's Players'.

been written by Streamer, which are of no worth: from four of these, we may, perhaps, infer that Streamer was a clergyman. If further knowledge of this book be required, it may be found in the Editor's *Bibliographical Account of Rare Books*, 1865, i, p. 43.

The whole, as may be inferred, has a strong Protestant tendency.

[1] T. Nash, in one of his tracts dated in 1592, mentions a moral-play, then well known, called *Esop's Glow-worm*.

The triumphs, jousts, and masks at Christmas 1552-3, cost 717*l.* 10*s.* 9½*d.*, as we learn from the accounts furnished from the Office of the Revels.[1] It is not stated who was Lord of Misrule (for by that title he is again called) on this occasion; but he undertook the part of the God of War in the Triumph of Mars and Venus, his dress costing 51*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*: on new year's-day he had a different suit, valued at 34*l.* 14*s.* He was attended by Counsellors, Pages, Ushers, Heralds, an Orator, an Interpreter, an Irishman, an Irishwoman, Jugglers, etc., besides his six sons (three of them base born), the eldest of whom was apparelled in 'a long fool's coat of yellow cloth of gold, all over figured with velvet, white, red, and green, a hood, buskins, and girdle.' Coats were also provided for seven other fools, and the whole cost of dresses was 262*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

Among the *Harleian MSS.*[1] is a detailed account of the expense of a tournament and banquet given by the King in 1552, in Hyde Park; for which purpose no fewer than ninety-four 'houses or tents' were carried from Blackfriars, where they were kept. The total charge was 933*l.* 6*s.*, of which 62*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* was for 'Masks and garments', but no dramatic performances are specifically noticed.[2]

During the reign of Edward VI the Princess Elizabeth had plays performed before her, and charges of 1*l.* 10*s.* to Heywood, and of 4*l.* 19*s.* to Sebastian [Westcott?] for a play by 'the children', are found in the account of the expenses of her household, kept by Thomas Parry, her cofferer. She also gave 10*s.* to a person of the name of Beamonde, for a play

[1] No. 284.

[2] Chalmers (*Apology*, 477) expresses an opinion, that the annual charge for revels, during the reign of Edward VI, was about 325*l.*; but he judges only from the sum paid every Christmas to Sir T. Cawarden, which included only the expense of the court amusements at that particular season, not during the year.

represented by certain boys under his management. The dates of these payments, or indeed of the account itself, of which they form a part, have not been precisely ascertained.[1]

The last piece of documentary evidence, connected with the stage and belonging to this reign, is a letter from the Privy Council to Sir T. Cawarden, dated 28th of January 1552-3, directing him, as Master of the Revels, to furnish William Baldwin (one of the original projectors of *The Mirror for Magistrates*) with all necessaries for setting forth a play before the King to be performed on Candlemas night.[2] We are without any particulars of the entertainments on that occasion; but, in the Council Registers it is stated, that 326*l.* were paid to Sir Thomas Cawarden for the charges of the Lord of Misrule at Christmas.

Mary ascended the throne in July 1553, and 'a play' was ordered on the occasion, which we may presume was performed by the Gentlemen of the Chapel; but little more than a month elapsed before she issued a proclamation, the object of which was, among other things, to prevent the performance of plays and interludes calculated to advance the principles and doctrines of the reformation.[3] This document is among the proclamations preserved by the Society of Antiquaries, and our attention was first directed to it, by finding in the registers of the Privy Council the following entry of its having been prepared:—

A. D. 1553.

[1] Nichols, *Progr. Eliz. I*, viii, edit. 1823. From Kempe's *Losely MSS.*, p. 87, it appears that in 5 Edw. VI there was represented at Court 'a Masque of Cats'. Nothing seems to have been thought too absurd or extravagant, whether in design or expenditure.

[2] Chalmers' *Apology for the Believers*, etc., p. 348.

[3] The manner in which the Roman Catholics and their doctrines had been turned into ridicule in plays is adverted to, with some spleen, in an anonymous poem called *Pore Help*, printed without date, but in the reign of

'16th August 1553.

'A Proclamation for reformation of busy medlers in matters of Religion, and for redresse of Prechars, Pryntars, and players.'

Having thus been adopted by the advisers of the Queen on the 16th of August, it was published, and bears date two days afterwards: the following is the only part which relates to theatrical performances.

'And furthermore, forasmuch also, as it is well knowen, that sedition and false rumours have bene nouryshed, and maynteyned within this realme by the subteltye and malyce of some evell disposed persons, whiche take upon them, withoute sufficient auctoritie, to preache, and to interprete the worde of God after theyr owne brayne, in churches and other places, both publique and pryvate: and also by playinge of Interludes, and pryntyinge of false fonde bookes, ballettes, rymes, and other lewde treatises in the englyshe tonge, concernynge doctryne in matters now in question and controversye, touchynge the hyghe poyntes and misteries of christen religion; whiche bookes, ballettes, rymes, and treatises are, chiefly by the Prynters and Stacioners, sette out to sale to her graces subjectes, of an evyll zeale, for lucre and covetous of vyle gayne. Her highnes therefore

---

Mary, and re-published by Strype in his *Eccl. Memorials, Rep. of Orig.*, ii, 34. The author thus apostrophizes the Sacrament:—

'Blessed Sacrament, for thy Passion,
Hear and se our exclamation
Agaynst these men of new fashion:
That stryve agaynst the holy nacion,
And jest of them in Playes,
In Taverns and highways,
And theyr good acts disprayse;
And martyrs would them make
That brent were at the stake,
And sing *Pipe meri annot*,
And play of Wilnot Cannot,
And as for Cannot and Wilnot,
Though they speke not of it, it skil not.'

strayghtly chargeth and commaundeth all and every her sayde subjectes, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from henceforth to preache, or by way of readynge in Churches, or other publique or pryvate places (excepte in the scholes of the universities) to interprete or teache any scriptures, or any maner poyntes of doctryne concernynge religion. Neyther also to prynte any bookes, matter, ballet, ryme, interlude, processe, or treatyse; nor to playe any interlude, except they have her graces speciall licence in writynge for the same, upon payne to incurre her highnesse indignation, and displeasure.'

We have already mentioned Bale's protestant historical moral-play on the reign of King John, or *King Johan* as he himself entitled it; but to the reign of Queen Mary belongs a production of the very contrary character: it does not appear that it was ever printed, but it has come down to us in a manuscript obviously of that period, and quite entire: it was entitled *Respublica* and we also find in the words of the author that it was 'made in the year of our Lord 1553 and the first year of the most prosperous reign of our most gracious Sovereign Queen Mary the first.' When it was performed at Court the prologue was spoken by the author himself, whoever he may have been, in the character of 'the Poet'; while in the course of the performance he was allowed to introduce the Queen in the character of Nemesis 'the goddess of redress and correction', while her kingdom of England is called 'Respublica' and its inhabitants allegorically impersonated as 'People': the reformation of the Church is called 'Oppression', and Policy, Authority and Honesty, are designated as Avarice, Insolence and Adulation: he also introduces the impersonations of Misericordia, Justitia and Pax, as the friends and servants of Nemesis. Respublica is represented as a widow greatly injured and abused by Avarice, Insolence and Oppression, while People (using through-

out a rustic dialect), complain bitterly of their sufferings, especially since what had been called the 'Reformation in matters of Faith.' The end is that Nemesis (the Queen) is introduced by Justitia, and restores the old condition of religious affairs. The whole is very curious in reference to our present enquiry, and proves how the Stage was employed, immediately after the death of Edward VI, in order to reconvert the people and restore the Roman Catholic religion.

It is known that the Proclamation, already quoted, was very effectual and that it had been very vigorously enforced; and in one of the *Cottonian MSS.* (*Vitellius, F.*, v), we find a record which states that on the 30th May, 1554, a Player was set in the pillory for an offence against it, and had his ear nailed to the post. While the Princess Elizabeth resided with Sir Thomas Pope, at Hatfield, two dramas appear to have been performed: one of them was entitled *The Hanging of Antioch*, and the other *Holophernes*, and we may be sure that they were not of a protestant tendency.

For more than two years the Proclamation appears to have been effectual for its purpose; after which date the renewal of the representation of plays was attempted, not indeed in London, but in the country. On the 14th of February 1555-6, Lord Rich was required by the Privy Council to put a stop to the performance of 'a stage-play appointed to be played this Shrovetide at Hatfield-Bradock in Essex', and 'to examine who should be the players, what the effect of the play is, with such other circumstances as he shall think meet.' By the letter of thanks to Lord Rich, on the 19th of the same month, it seems that he found 'the players to be honest householders and quiet persons'; and he was therefore ordered to set them at liberty, but 'to have special care to stop the like occasions of assembling the people hereafter.'

Some proceedings in the north of England caused the

interference of the Star-chamber, in the spring of the year 1556, for the total suppression of dramatic amusements, both protestant and catholic. At this date the Earl of Shrewsbury was President of the North, and on the 30th of April 1556, the Privy Council addressed a letter to him, complaining that 'certain lewd persons, to the number of six or seven in a company, naming themselves to be servants unto Sir Francis Leek, and wearing his livery and badge on their sleeves, had wandered about those north parts, and represented certain plays and interludes, containing very naughty and seditious matter touching the King's and Queen's Majesties, and the state of the realme, and to the slander of Christ's true and catholic religion.'[1] The Earl of Shrewsbury was, therefore, required without delay to search for the players, and on a repetition of their offence to punish them as vagabonds.

It is clear from hence that the performances of the servants of Sir F. Leek were designed to favour the protestant religion, and on this account they were particularly offensive to the Court. As it was, perhaps, found impossible to prevent repetition without putting a stop to the representation of dramatic productions of all kinds, the Star-chamber issued orders for that purpose, in Easter Term, 1556, and they were sent to the justices of the peace of every county in the kingdom, with directions that they should be rigorously enforced. And end was thus at once put to any ambiguity which might have belonged to the Proclamation of the 18th August 1552.

Nevertheless, in June 1557, an attempt was made to act, even in London, 'certain naughty plays', as they were termed: one was represented on the 3rd June, and on the next day the Lord Mayor was called upon by the Queen's advisers to discover and arrest the players, and to

A. D. 1557.

[1] This letter is reprinted at large in Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, i, 212.

send them before the Commissioners of Religion, 'and also to take order that no play be made henceforth within the city, except the same be first seen, and the players authorised.'

Later in the same month, John Fuller, the Mayor of Canterbury, arrested some players within his jurisdiction; and on the 27th June 1557, he was thanked by the Privy Council, as we find by the Register, for his diligence, and directed to detain his prisoners until farther orders. In the mean time 'their lewd play-book' was submitted to the crown lawyers; and after it had remained under consideration until 11th August, another letter was written to the Mayor of Canterbury, ordering him 'to proceed against the players forthwith', and to punish them 'according to the qualities of their offences.'

On the 11th July 1557, the Lord Rich received the thanks of the Privy Council, for his exertions in carrying into effect the orders issued from the Star-chamber in Easter Term preceding; but the magistrates of Essex seem to have exhibited a degree of slackness in this respect, which called for the censure of the public authorities. At the date when Lord Rich was written to, they had not accomplished the object of the advisers of the crown, by the suppression of all plays, and the arrest of all players who attempted to perform, and they were accordingly admonished to carry into immediate execution the directions sent to them from the Star-chamber.

The general prohibition of all dramatic representations, transmitted to the magistrates of the different counties in Easter Term, 1557, had either expired before September of that year, or, as is more likely, it had never been applied to the City of London, which might be with tolerable safety left under the superintendence of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who had always discountenanced theatrical exhibitions within their jurisdiction. On one occasion, however, the vigilance of

the civic authorities seems to have been in danger of being defeated; and the Privy Council having received information, that on the 5th September, 1557, 'a lewd play, called a *Sackfull of News*,[1] was to be performed at the Boar's Head, without Aldgate (Shakespeare's famous old hostelry), they instantly sent a letter to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to apprehend and commit the actors, and to send their play-book to the Privy Council. It turned out, however, that the representation was perfectly harmless, and on the 6th September the Lord Mayor was desired to set the players, whom he had arrested on the preceding day, at liberty. It is to be inferred, either that the Star-chamber orders had expired, or that they did not extend to the city, from the conclusion of this communication, where the Lord Mayor is told to give 'the players throughout the city in commandment and charge, not to play any plays, but between the feasts of All Saints and Shrovetide, and then only such as are seen and allowed by the Ordinary.' This allowance by the Ordinary may have been substituted for the 'special license' of the Queen, mentioned in the Proclamation issued in the first year of her reign: it agrees also with the contents of the letter to the Lord Mayor of June 3rd, 1557, before noticed, and renders it more probable, that the city of London was in some way exempted from regulations which applied to other parts of the kingdom.[2]

[1] The *Sakfull of Nuez* is one of the pieces mentioned in Laneham's letter from Kenilworth, 1575, but from the company in which it is placed, it should seem not to have been a piece of a dramatic kind, but the old jest-book with the same attractive title. It is very possible that the *Sackfull of News*, attempted to be performed, had been founded upon the ballad in the possession of Captain Cox. Laneham afterwards enumerates certain 'ancient plays', which also formed part of the library of the Coventry leader.

[2] May-games seem to have been still allowed. 'On the 30th day of

The domestic establishment of Queen Mary for Court revels and entertainments, seems, nevertheless, to have been kept up on the same footing as during the reign of her father. In the library of the Society of Antiquaries is deposited a detailed contemporary account of all the officers composing the royal household; and among them are to be observed eight 'Players of Enterludes', each of whom received 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Although the names of the various musicians are furnished, with the salaries they were allowed annexed, those of the players are not given. The authorities as to the number of players entertained by Queen Mary differ; for a MS. in the Cottonian Library,[1] entitled 'A Declaration of the ordinarie paymentes, and other expencys wherewith the sayde offyce [Treasurer of the Queen's chamber] standes charged yerelye, *communibus annis*', mentions only four 'Interlude players' in the following manner: 'Item, to the 4 Enterlude Playors, every of them at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ꝑ Annᵐ. for their wages, and 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* for their liveries: in all 18*l.*'

The charge for liveries for the players, at 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* each, is new in the Cottonian MS., where, besides 185*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* for musicians, 12*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.* are given to Mathew Becke, serjeant

May [1557?], was a joly may gam in Fanch-church strett, with drumes & gunes and pykes, and the 9 wordes [worthies] dyd ryd & thay had speches evereman, and the Mores-danse & the Souden & the Olevant with the castyel; & the Souden with yonge Morens with Targetts & dartts, & the Lord and Lady of the May.' *Cotton. MSS. Vitellius, F.* v. On the same authority we learn, that on the '31 day of January my lord Tresorers lord of Mysrule cam to my lord Mare, and had my lord to dener; & ther cam a grett cumpane of my lord Tresorers men with partesans, & a grett mene of musysyoners & dyssguyssys, and with trumpets & drumes, with ys consellors & dyvers odur offesurs; & ther was a dulvyll [devil] shutyng of fyre, & won was lyke deth with a dart in hand.'

[1] *Vespasian, C.* xiv.

of the Queen's bears; 14*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* to Simon Poulter, yeoman of the bears; and 21*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* to Richard Darryngton, as master and keeper of the royal bandogs and mastives. It is probable that the statement in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries is the more accurate.[1]

The only instance, with which we are now acquainted, when

[1] It is as follows, and it shows that the musical and dramatic establishment of the Queen, *anno primo Reginæ Mariæ*, cost, in salaries only, 2233*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*:—

'The Revelles.

The Master, Sir Thomas Cawarden, fee, 10*l.*

Yeoman, John Holte, fee, 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*'

'Musitions and Players.

Serjeant. Benedict Browne, fee, 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Trompetors, in number 16, every of them having by the yeare 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—389*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Lutars. Philip van Welder, Petre van Welder, 138*l.* 5*s.*

Harpers. William More, fee, 18*l.* 5*s.*, Bernard Dupont, fee, 20*l.*—38*l.* 5*s.*

Singers. Thomas Kent, fee, 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, Thomas Bowde, fee, 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*—18*l.* 5*s.*

Rebeck. John Severnake, fee, 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Sagbutts. In nombre 6, whereof 5 have 18*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* by the yere, and one 36*l.* 5*s.*—158*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

Vialles. In nombre 8, whereof six at 30*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, one at 20*l.*, another at 18*l.* 5*s.*—220*l.* 15*s.*

Baggpiper. Richard Woodward, fee, 16*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

Mynstrelles. In nombre 9, 155*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*

Drumslades. In nombre 3, 54*l.* 15*s.*

Players on the fluyt. Oliver Rampons, fee, 18*l.* 5*l.*, Pier Guye, fee, 30*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*—48*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Players on the Virginalles. John Heywood, fee, 50*l.*, Antony Chounter, fee, 30*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, Robert Bowman, 12*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*—92*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

Musitions Straungers. Fees, 296*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Players of Enterludes. In nombre 8. Everie of them at 66*s.* 8*d.* by the yere—26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Makers of Instruments. Wm. Baton, Organmaker, 20*l.*, Wm. Tresorer, Regallmaker, 10*l.*—30*l.*

Queen Mary called on the Master of the Revels to provide for entertainments at Court during her reign, was in 1557. On St. Mark's day she commanded for her 'regal disport, recreation and comfort' a 'notorious maske of Almaynes, Pilgrymes, and Irishemen, with their insidents and accomplishes accordingly.' A warrant for furnishing Sir Thomas Cawarden with silks, velvets, cloths of silver, etc., for this purpose, was addressed to Sir Edward Waldegrave, Master of the Great Wardrobe, on the 30th of April 1557.[1] For these articles Sir Thomas Cawarden gave a receipt at the foot of the warrant. The revels, no doubt, were ordered for the reception of King Philip out of Flanders, and for the amusement of the Russian Ambassador, who had reached England a short time before.

Feats of activity were also exhibited before the Queen at Christmas 1557-8, as appears by the following passage in a MS. several times before cited :[2]— A. D. 1558.

'The 20 day of January, at Grenwyche, the quen grace pensyonars dyd mustur, &c.; and ther cam a tumbeler & playd mony prate fetts afor the quen and my lord cardenall, that her grace dyd lyke hartely and so her grace dyd thanke them.'[3]

The accounts in previous reigns of the representation of miracle-plays in London have been comparatively few, but they seem to have been revived, and frequently repeated,

The Chapell. Thomas Bird, Thomas Tallis, George Edwards, William Hynnus, Tho. Palfreman, Richard Farrant, John Singer, and thirty others, 469*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

Singers. Richard Atkinson, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, John Temple, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

[1] Chalmers's *Apology for the Believers*, p. 478.

[2] *Cotton. MSS., Vitellius, F.* v.

[3] Among the *Trevelyan MSS.* at Nettlecomb is a book of the accounts of Sir William Cavendish, while he was Treasurer of the Royal Chamber,

while Mary was on the throne: they were calculated to extend and enforce the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion, and on this account they were now encouraged by the public authorities. In 1556 'a goodly stage-play of the passion of

and in it, under the date of 24th October, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, we meet with the following enumeration of the musical and dramatic establishment at Court, exclusive of Trumpeters:—

'*Lewters and syngynge Children.* Peter van Welder, lewter, by the yere xviij*li.* v*s.*, ——— in the rowme of Phelip van Welder, luter, decessed, by the yere xl*li.* And iiij*li.* to hym more for fyndynge of six synginge children belongynge to the pryvy chamber—cxxxviij*li.* v*s.*

Harpers. Wyllm More, harper, by the yere xviij*li.* v*s.* And Barnerde de Pounce, harper, by the yere xx*li.*—xxxviij*li.* v*s.*

Syngers. Thomas Kente, synger, by the yere ix*li.* ij*s.* vj*d.*, ——— in the rowme of Thomas Bowde, synger, decessed, by the yere ix*li.* ij*s.* vj*d.*—xviij*li.* v*s.*

Rebecks. John Savernake, rebeck, by yere xxiiij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*; Robart Woodwarde, by yere xij*li.* iij*s.* iiij*d.*—xxxvj*li.* x*s.*

Sagbuts. Anthony Mary, sagbut, by yere xxiiij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*; Niclas Androe, by yere xxiiij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*; Richarde Welshe, xxxvj*li.* x*s.*; Niclas Colman, xxiiij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*; Edward Devys, xxiiij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*; John Pecock, xxiiij*li.* vj*s.* viij.—clviij*li.* iij*s.* iiij*d.*

Vialls. Albert de Venyce, vyall, by the yeere xxx*li.* viij*s.* iiij*d.*; Ambrose de Myllano, xxx*li.* viij*s.* iiij*d.*; Pawle Galiardele, in the rowme of Vyncent de Venyce, xxx*li.* viij*s.* iiij*d.*; Fraunces de Venyce, xxx*li.* viij*s.* iiij*d.*; Mark Anthony, xxx*li.* viij*s.* iiij*d.*; George de Combre, xxx*li.* viij*s.* iiij*d.*; Innocent Conny, xviij*li.* v*s*; Thomas Browne, in the rowme of Hance Hosin, decessed, by the yere xx*li.*—ccxx*li.* xv*s.*

Bagpipe. Richarde Woodwarde, player on the bagpipe, by yere, xij*li.* iij*s.* iiij*d.*

Mynstrells. Edward Lake, mynstrell, by the yere xxiij*li.* v*s.*; Thomas Ales, the lyke; Thomas Cursson, xviij*li.* v*s.*; Robarte May, xviij*li.* v*s.*; Allayne Robson, xviij*li.* v*s.*; Thomas Pagyngton, xviij*li.* v*s.*; Pero Guye, xviij*li.* v*s.*; Robart Reynolles, Welsh mynstrell, lxvj*s.* viij*d.*; Richarde Pike, xviij*li.* v*s.*; and ——— in the rowme of Nichas Puvall, decessed, xxiiij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*—clxxiij*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.*

Dromslade. Alexander Pennax, Dromslade, by the yere, xviij*li.* v*s.*

Christ' was presented at the Grey-friars in London, on Corpus Christi day, before the Lord Mayor, the Privy Council and many great estates of the realm.[1] In 1557 the exhibition was repeated at the same place, on the proclamation of war against France; and in the same year, on St. Olave's day at night, the miraculous life of that saint was performed as a stage-play in the church dedicated to him in Silver-street.[2]

'*Fluytes.* Piro Guy, player on the fluyte, by yere xxx*li.* viij*s.* iiij*d.*; Guyllym Trothes, by yere xxj*li.* v*s.* x*d.*; and Guyllym Duvet, by yere xxj*li.* v*s.* x*d.*—lxxiij*li.*

'*Players on Instruments.* John Heywood, player on the Virginalles, by yere l*li.*; Anthony de Countye, xxx*li.* viij*s.* iiij*d.*; Robarte Beamonde, xij*li.* iij*s.* iiij*d.*——iiij^{xx}.—xij*li.* xj*s.* viij*d.*

'*Instrument Makers.* Willm. Beaton, organmaker, by yere xx*li.*; Willm. Thresorer, x*li.*—xxx*li.*

'*Players of Enterludes.* George Birche, player, by yere lxvj*s.* viij*d.*; Richarde Cooke, lxvj*s.* viij*d.*; Richarde Skynner, lxvj*s.* viij*d.*; John Birche, lxvj*s.* viij*d.*; Thomas Sowthey, lxvj*s.* viij*d.*; John Browne, with his lyvery cote, iiij*li.* x*s.*'

[1] The entry of this circumstance is made in the following terms in *Cotton. MSS. Vitellius, F.* v.:—'The same day begane a stage-play at the [Grey] freres of the passyon of Cryst.' The word 'Grey' has been obliterated by the fire which so unfortunately damaged this very curious manuscript.

[2] Strype's *Eccl. Mem.*, iii, 379.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1558 TO THE YEAR 1575.

THE first act of Queen Elizabeth connected with the stage was similar to that of her brother, in the third year of his reign. According to Holinshed, proclamation was made on the 7th of April, 1559, 'under the Queen's hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thenceforth no plaies nor interludes should be exercised till Allhallowes tide next insuing.' This document has not survived; but it was followed on the 16th of May by another proclamation, which is extant, and which forbade the performance of plays and interludes, unless they were first licensed by the Mayors of cities or towns corporate, by the Lords Lieutenant of counties, or by two Justices of the Peace of the place where they were to be represented: the same instrument also declared, that no dramatic production should be so licensed, which touched matters of religion, or governance of the estate of the commonweal.[1]

A. D. 1559.

[1] The only collection, we believe, in which this proclamation exists, is in the Bodleian Library. It is not to be found in the Privy Council Office, nor in the volumes of the Society of Antiquaries. Malone and Chalmers knew nothing of it. It is in the following form:—

'BY THE QUEEN.

'Forasmuche as the tyme wherein common Interludes in the Englishe

At this period, Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, had a company of theatrical servants ; and in June 1559 (the day of the month is not stated), he wrote a letter in their behalf to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of

tongue are wont usually to be played is now past untyll All Hallontyde, and that also some that have been of late used, are not convenient in any good ordred Christian Common Weale to be suffred. The Queenes Majestie doth straightly forbyd al maner Interludes to be playde, eyther openly or privately, except the same be notified before hande, and licenced within any citie or towne corporate by the Maior or other chiefe officers of the same, and within any shyre, by such as shalbe Lieutenaunts for the Queenes Majestie in the same shyre, or by two of the Justices of the peax inhabyting within that part of the shire where any shalbe played.

'And for instruction to every of the sayde officers, her Majestie doth likewise charge every of them as they will aunswere : that they permyt none to be played, wherein either matters of religion or of the governaunce of the estate of the common weale shalbe handled, or treated ; beyng no meete matters to be wrytten or treated upon, but by menne of aucthoritie, learning, and wisedome, nor to be handled before any audience but of grave and discreete persons. All which partes of this proclamation her Majestie chargeth to be inviolably kepte. And if any shal attempte to the contrary, her Majestie giveth all maner of officers, that have aucthoritie to see common peax kept, in commandement to arrest and enprison the parties so offending for the space of fourteene dayes or more, as cause shall nede : And further also untill good assuraunce may be founde and gyven, that they shalbe of good behaviour, and no more offende in the like.

'And further her Majestie gyveth speciall charge to her nobilitie and gintilmen, as they professe to obey and regarde her Majestie, to take good order in thys behalfe wyth their servauntes being players, that this her Majesties commaundement may be dulye kepte and obeyed.

'Yeven at our Palayce at Westminster, the xvj daye of Maye, the first yeare of our Raygne.

'Imprinted at London in Powles Churchyarde by Richard Jugge and John Cawood, Printers to the Quenes Majestie. *Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*'

the North, which will serve as a sort of commentary on the Queen's proclamation.[1] It ran thus :—

'My good Lorde,

'Where my servauntes, bringers hereof unto you, be suche as ar plaiers of interludes; and for the same have the Licence of diverse of my Lords here, under ther seales and handis, to plaie in diverse shieres within the realme under there aucthorities, as maie amplie appere unto your L. by the same licence. I have thought emong the rest by my Lettres to beseche your good L. conformitie to them likewise, that they maie have your hand and seale to ther licence for the like libertye in Yorke shiere; being honest men, and suche as shall plaie none other matters (I trust); but tollerable and convenient; whereof some of them have bene herde here alredie before diverse of my Lordis: for whome I shall have good cause to thank your L. and to remaine your L. to the best that shall lie in my litle power. And thus I take my leave of your good L. From Westm., the of June, 1559.

'Your good L. assured,

R. DUDDLEY.'

'*To the right Honourable & my verie good Lorde, the Erle of Shrewsburie.*'

Such severe measures were deemed necessary, in consequence of the prevalence of those theatrical representations which tended to oppose the progress of the reformation; and which, therefore, had been encouraged by the Court of Mary, while the provisions of her proclamations were rigorously enforced against performances of an opposite character.[2]

[1] The original is preserved in the Heralds' College, with which the erroneous copy in Lodge's *Ill. Brit. Hist.*, I. 307, has been collated.

[2] In his reprint of the works of Sir David Lyndsay, i, 365, Chalmers, without citing his authority, states that 'Heath, the Archbishop of York, in opposing the Act of Uniformity, in 1559, complained in Parliament of the stage plays which had been made in mockery of the Catholic religion.'

That revels were held at Court in the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, we know from the fact, which appears in a MS. in the Lansdown collection,[1] that John Fortesque, the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, issued from thence in that year, for the purpose of 'setting forth the revels', velvets, silks, cloth of gold, etc., to the amount of 106*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* There is also an unprecedented circumstance connected with the amusements prepared for the Queen on this occasion: it is mentioned in the *Chronicle*, to which we have often before been indebted, of events in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary (*Cotton MSS., Vitellius F.* v.); *viz.*, that the players were stopped, in the middle of their performances, in consequence of the objectionable nature of the matter they represented. The words in which this curious fact is related are these:—'The same day at nyght [*i.e.*, Christmas night, 1558-9] at the Quens Court ther was a play afor her grace, the whych the plaers plaid shuche matter, that they wher commandyd to leyff off, and continently [incontinently] the maske cam in dansyng.' Nevertheless, on the same authority, we find that on twelfth night following, 'a skaffold for the play' was 'set up in the hall', and 'after the play was done ther was a goodly maske, and after, a grett bankett that last tyll mydnyght.'[1] These entertainments seem to have been the very latest superintended by Sir Thomas Cawarden: he died in August 1560,[3] and was succeeded in his appointment by Sir Thomas

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 5.

[2] The Queen was at Eltham in the summer of 1559, and, on the 5th of August, a play was represented before her by the children of Paul's, of whom Sebastian was then master. It was, probably, in English; but this point is not stated. Nichols's *Progr. Eliz.*, i, 74, edit. 1823. See also Strype's *Annals*, i, 194, edit. 1735.

[3] Chalmers (*Apology*, 479), fixes the date of the death of Sir T. Cawarden, in December, 1559, but this is a mistake: he lived until the August following. In *Cotton. MSS., Vitellius F.* v, his decease at the

Benger, the privy seal for whose patent bears date on the 12th of January, 1559-60. This instrument was preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, among the privy seals of the reign of Elizabeth.[1] The place is called, as in the patent of Sir Thomas Cawarden, '*officium Magistri Jocorum, Revellorum et Mascorum, communiter vocata* Revells *et* Maskes', and the fee of 10*l.* per annum is continued.[2]

A. D. 1560.

Malone discovered no accounts furnished from the Office of the Revels, relative to the expenses of entertainments at Court, prior to the year 1571; but the State Paper Office contains the last detail of the kind delivered in by Sir Thomas Cawarden, in all probability shortly before his decease: it was not an account of charges incurred, but an estimate of expenses for four masks, etc., which were intended

royal palace of Nonesuch is thus registered:—'The 20 day of August, ded at Nonshyche, Sir Thomas Carden, knyght, devyser of all bankets and bankett-howsses, and the Mr of Reyvells and Serjeant of Tentts.' The same chronicle informs us that Lady Carden, or Cawarden, on the 23d of February following, was carried from the Blackfriars to Bletchingly, in Surrey, and there buried.

[1] Malone mistakes a year, and gives as the date of Sir T. Benger's patent the 18th January, 1560-1.

[2] In March 1559-60, the following privy seal was issued for the purpose of keeping up the establishment of the children of Windsor, from whom, it should seem, drafts had been made for the purpose of filling up vacancies in other juvenile companies, or choirs:—

'Elizabeth R.

'Whereas our castle of Windsor hath of old been well furnished with singing men and children. We, willing it should not be of less reputation in our days, but rather augmented and increased, declare, that no singing men or boys be taken out of the said chapel by virtue of any commission, not even for our household chapel: and we give power to the bearer of this to take any singing men and boys from any chapel, our own household and St. Paul's only excepted. Given at Westminster, this 8th of March in the 2d year of our reign.' *Ashm. MSS.*, 1113, Nichols's *Progr. Eliz.*, i, 81, edit. 1823.

to be represented in the Queen's presence. It is not signed by Sir Thomas Cawarden, but it bears internal evidence that it came from him; and the reason the estimate was made out before the exhibition took place was, that complaints had been raised of the costliness of this department. The whole charge was calculated at *227l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*, which, according to the assertion of the Master of the Revels, was nearly 200*l.* less than it had been in any preceding year. This document is subjoined in a note.[1]

[1] The only difference between the following, and the original in the State Paper Office, is that the Roman numerals have been changed to Arabic figures.

'The Revells att Christmas and Shroftide, Anno scdo rei Elizabth. { An Estymate of the Charges of the Maskes, and other preparations for pastymes to be showen in the presence of the Queenes Matie at Christmas and Shroftyde in the seconde yeare of her highnes reigne, Anno Dmi. 1559.

'Foure Maskes with there torche berers, sett forth and shewen before the queenes Matie at Whytehawle on newe yeres even, new yeres daye, and Twelf daye att night, the charges in—

'Wages of Taylors, karvars, propertie makers, wemen and other, woorking and attendinge theron, as by the collection of there dewes apereth at this presente, 37*l.* 10*s.*

'Sylke for here of weemens heddes and byllyments, lace, frenche buttons, tarsells, and other parcells bowghte of the Sylkewoman, as by her billes aperethe, 32*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

'Feltes and pasteborde for hatts, Buckeram for lynings and patternes, threed, fuell, lyghtes, Rysshes and other necessaryes, as by the parcells aperethe at this presente, 12*l.* 2*s.*

'Spangells, counterfett Stones, with the gylding, partie golde, colors, mowlded woorke, heres and other things for the furnyture and garnyture of the premysses, to gether amountynge, as aperethe at this presente, to 13*l.* 15*s.*

'A remnaunte of greene clothe of golde, & a remnaunte of crymson vellatt sarsenatt for performaunce of the laste maskes, with gloves, laces & other habberdasheries parcells, as by the merser & habberdashers parcells apereth, 21*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

It is more than probable that this estimate fell short of the sum actually expended upon the occasion, and there can be no doubt that in the following year, 1560, the charge for the Revels in the presence of the Queen was much more considerable. In an account of 'the revenues of the Crown, declared in the Pipe of 'the court of Exchequer',[1] for 1560, is an item of 700*l.* for the office of the Revels, the whole of which was then due and unpaid. What is termed 'the Revels Book' for 1561,[2] including payments, in that department only, from April to September, presents a strange contrast to the economy attempted to be introduced only two years before. Within that period, while the Queen was on progress, and revels were held at Westminster, Somerset Place, the Tower of London, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Windsor

A. D. 1561.

'Thother charges of theis maskes, wherof none of the parties have yet browght in there parcells billes & demaunds, but ar uncollected, will amounte by estimacion to eighte or ten poundes, 10*l.*

'Toe maskes of men and one maske of wemen with there torche berers and a Rocke, a founteyne & other furnyture thereto apertenente, prepared to be sett forthe & shewen in the queenes presence at Whighte Hall durynge the tyme of Shroftyde, wherof the whole charges will amounte by estimacion to 100*l.* at the leaste.

Sm^{a}. to^{lis}., 227*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*

'Memorandum, that the chargeis for making of maskes cam never to so little a some as they do this yere, for the same did ever amount, aswell in the Queenes Highnes tyme that now is, as at all other tymes hertofore, to the some of 400*l.* alwaies when it was leaste.

'M^{m}. also, that it may please the Queenes Ma^{tie} to appoint some of her highnes prevy Counsaile, immediately after Shroftyde yerely, to survey the state of the saide office, to thintent it may be knowne in what case I found it, and how it hathe byn since used.

'M^{m}. also, that the saide Counsailors may have aucthoritie to appoint such fees of cast garments as they shall think resonable, and not the M^{r}. to appoint any, as hertofore he hath done; for I think it most for the M^{rs}. savegarde so to be used.'

[1] *Lansd. MSS.*, No. 4.

[2] *Lansd. MSS.*, No. 5.

Castle, New Hall (*alias* Beaulieu), the Mewes, Havering, Hartford Castle, Hatfield, and Enfield: the document consists of only a single sheet, but it includes items for Court amusements at all the places above enumerated, amounting in the whole to no less a sum than 3209*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*[1]

It has been said that 'the persecutions of preceding governments had left Elizabeth without a theatre, without dramas, and without players.'[2] If by the word 'theatre' be meant a building set apart for dramatic performances, it is to be observed, that her predecessors had none, nor did any exist in the kingdom until some years after she came to the throne: as to dramas, it is true that none are extant which, as far as can be ascertained, were printed during the reign of Mary; but we have already seen, with regard to players, that that queen kept up the theatrical and musical establishment of her father at an expense of between two and three thousand pounds a year, in salaries only, independently of board, liveries and incidental charges. The same establishment under Elizabeth, in the fourth year of her reign (for we have found no earlier record upon the subject) was upon a much more economical scale, but the eight interlude players were not omitted. The *Lansdowne MSS.* in the British Museum[3] furnish us with 'the yerely charge of th'offyce of the Treasaurer of the Chamber at the present day, 29th September, A° 4^to^ regni', out of which fund the expense was borne, and it contains the following items:—

'Trompettors wages, 400*l.* 10*s.*; Vyolons, 230*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Fluytes, 213*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Sagbutts, 130*l.* 17*s.*; Musicyons, 176*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*; Entre-

[1] Among the 'Extracts of memorable circumstances from the account book of the Chamberlain of Feversham', is the following entry:—

'1561.—Given in rewardes to the Queens Majestys players, 6*s.* 8*d.*'

See Nichols's *Progr. Eliz.*, s. a. 1561.

[2] Chalmers's *Apology*, p. 353.

[3] No. 5.

lude playors, 30*l.*; Kepere of Beares and Mastyvs, 48*l.* 10*s.*—Total, 1230*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.*'[1]

The item of 'Musicyons', perhaps, embraced performers upon other instruments besides those enumerated, as well as singers. Eight interlude players, at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each, would cost 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; so that the remaining sum, to raise it to 30*l.*, was probably an allowance for liveries. The apparel of a musician was provided out of the royal wardrobe, and cost 15*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*[2] The expense of the Queen's Chapel at the commencement of her reign may be here added; for both the gentlemen and children contributed their shares to the dramatic entertainments at Court: it is copied from a MS. in the Cottonian Collection:[3]—

[1] *Harl. MS.*, No. 2078, purports to be 'a general account of all the offices of England with their fees in her Majesties guifte'; but at what particular date in the reign of Elizabeth it was made out is uncertain. According to this document the salary of the Master of the Revels was not 10*l.* but 100*l.* a year, which is clearly a mistake: the salary of the Yeoman is correctly given at 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The expense of the 'Musitioners and Players' is there stated as follows:—

'Serjeant Trompeter, fee 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Trompeters 16, fee amongst them 389*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

'Sagbutts 6, fee to five of them 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, to one 20*l.*

'Violls 8, fee to 6 of them 30*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, to one 20*l.*, to another 10*l.* 5*s.*

'Drumslades 3, fee to every of them 18*l.* 5*s.*

'Players on the flute 2, fee to either of them 18*l.* 5*s.*

'Players on the virginalls 3, fee to each of them 5*l.*

'Musitions straungers 7. To the foure Brethren Venetions, amongst them 183*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

'Players of Enterludes, to every of them 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

'Makers of instruments, fee to one 20*l.*, to the other 10*l.*

[2] *Lansd. MS.*, No. 86, contains the subsequent 'Allowance of Apparell for a Musicion owt of the Garderobe', temp. Elizabeth:—'Chamlet, 14 yards at 3*s.* 4*d.* the yarde, 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Velvet, 6 yardes at 15*s.* the yarde, amounteth to 4*l.* 10*s.*; Damaske, 8 yards at 8*s.* the yarde, 3*l.* 4*s*; one furre of Budge, pryce 4*l.*; Lynen and making, 1*l.*—Summa, 15*l.* 8*d.*'

[3] *Titus*, *B.* iii.

'Master of the children,[1] fee, 40*l.*; Largesse to the children at high feasts, 9*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Allowance for their breakfasts, 10*l.*; Gentlemen of the Chapell, fee 19*d.* a day apiece.'

These fees were of course independent of board and clothing. In 1575 the twelve children were allowed board-wages at the rate of sixpence per day, amounting in the year to 109*l.* 10*s.*[2]

Christmas 1561-2, was kept with great splendour at the Inner Temple. According to the *Chronicle, MSS. Cotton, Vitellius F.* v., many of the Queen's Council were present,[3] and the Lord of Misrule rode through London 'in complete harness, gilt, with a hundred horse, and gentlemen riding gorgeously with chains of gold, and their horses goodly trapped.' On the 18th of January, the same MS. states, there was 'a play in the quens hall at Westmynster by the gentyll men of the Tempull, after a grett maske; for ther was a grett skaffold in the hall, with grett tryhumpe as has bene sene, and the morow after the skaffold was taken doune.' A. D. 1562.

This play was no other than *Ferrex and Porrex*, written by Sackville and Norton, the title-page of the old printed copies stating, that it was 'shewed before the Queenes most excel-

[1] This was Richard Bower, who was continued in his office by Queen Elizabeth on the 30th of April, 1559: Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv, 517, shows that his salary was 40*l.* a year.

[2] *Harl. MSS.* No. 589: an account entitled: The names of all suche persones as do receaue boardwages dayly throughoute the yeare,' etc. The names of the children are, however, not inserted. In the same paper it is said that 'Robert Maye and two of his fellowes, musitions', received board-wages at the rate of 4*d.* per day. No others are there specified.

[3] See Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, 150 *et seq.*, where a long account of the solemnities is inserted, which is also extracted in Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i, p. 131.

lent Majestie, in her Highnes court of Whitehall, the 18th Jan^{y} 1561 [2], by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple.' On the 1st of February following, another historical play was acted at Court, called *Julius Cæsar*, the name of which is furnished by the old Chronicle above quoted, and it affords, I think, the earliest instance of a subject from the Roman history being brought upon the stage. The notice is in the following terms :—

'The furst day of Feybruary at nyght, was the goodlyst maske cam owt of London that ever was sene, and a hundred & od gorgyously be sene, & a hundred cheynes of gold; and as for trumpetts & drumes, & as for torche lyght a hundered, & so to the cowrt, & dyvers goodly men of armes in gylt harnes, & *Julyus Sesar* played.'[1]

The following particulars are in themselves interesting, and will throw new light upon a rather obscure part of the history of the transactions, at this date, between Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots.

On the 10th May 1562, a warrant was issued to John Fortescue, esquire, to deliver out of the Great Wardrobe a large quantity of silks, and other articles of the same kind, to Sir Thomas Benger, Master of the Revels, 'for the better furnyshinge & settinge forthe of suche maskes and revells, as shall be shewed by him.' These 'masks and revels' were not to be held in London, but at Nottingham, as appears by a very curious document in the same volume of MSS., which contains the preceding warrant:[2] it is entitled 'Devices to be shewed before the Queenes Majestie, by waye of maskinge, at Nottingham castell, after the metinge of the Quene of Scotts.' To explain this document it is necessary to mention,

[1] It is to be remarked that *Julyus Sesar* seems to have been written by a different hand : perhaps the name of the drama had not been ascertained till afterwards, when it was added.

[2] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 5.

that Mary Queen of Scots having returned from France in 1561, a project was set on foot in the spring of 1562 to procure an interview between her and Elizabeth. It was intended that this meeting should take place in May; but Mary being very beautiful, and Elizabeth having no pretensions of the kind, the vanity of the latter seems to have prevented the execution of this design altogether, after it had first been postponed to June,[1] and subsequently to August. 'Articles' drawn up in June for the interview, are printed by Haynes, among the State papers of Elizabeth to the year 1570.[2] So certain did Sir W. Cecill consider the meeting of

[1] On June 16th, 1562, Elizabeth wrote to the Earl of Huntingdon, ordering him to attend at the projected meeting between her and the Queen of Scots, which was to take place 'either at our city of York, or at some other convenient place on this side near unto Trent.' This is all that Nichols inserts regarding the event. *Progr. Eliz.* i, 142.

[2] *Fol. London*, 1749. Chalmers (not *always* impartial) thus speaks of the intended interview.

'Amidst these disquieting scenes Mary returned [from her progress to the North] to Edinburgh early in May. Owing to some intimations of Randolph, before her journey to Fife, she had allowed her mind to dwell upon a personal interview with Elizabeth in England. Whether Cecil or Maitland suggested this idle purpose cannot now be told: Mary certainly laid the matter before her Privy Council on the 19th May, and her counsellors left the decision of the matter to herself, "if she should think her own person to be in any way in surety upon any promise to be made by the English Queen." Mary was so little apprehensive of her personal safety, that she sent Secretary Maitland to London to agree upon the detail of such an interview. The Queen wrote to Leicester upon the subject, and her chief Minister, the Earl of Mar, addressed a letter to Cecil upon the same business. For carrying it into effect a provisional treaty was actually agreed upon, so sincere seemed Elizabeth for the moment: but she soon began to vacillate between the two opinions, whether to meet or not to meet the Scottish Queen at Nottingham. At length, in July, she sent that truly respectable statesman Sir Henry Sidney to Edinburgh, in order to explain to the Scottish Queen, how

the two Queens in May, that he employed a poet of the day (it is not stated whom) to draw up a scheme of the entertainment, in the nature of emblematical masks and pageants, to be exhibited before them: this scheme is the 'Devices' above mentioned, preserved among the papers of Sir W. Cecill,—a curious historical document, not mentioned by any who have written upon the incidents of the lives of Elizabeth or Mary. It is as follows:—

'THE FIRSTE NIGHT.

'Firste a pryson to be made in the haule, the name whereof is Extreme Oblyvion, and the Kepers name thereof, Argus, otherwise called Circumspection: then a maske of Ladyes to come in after this sorte.

'Firste Pallas, rydinge vppon an unycorne, havinge in her hande a Standarde, in w^ch^ is to be paynted ij Ladyes hands, knitt one faste w^th^in thother, and over th'ands written in letters of golde, *Fides.*

'Then ij Ladyes rydinge together th'one uppon a golden Lyon, w^th^ a crowne of gold on his heade: th'other uppon a redd Lyon, w^th^ the like crowne of Gold; signifyinge ij Vertues, that is to saye, the Lady on the golden Lyon is to be called *Prudentia*, and the Ladye on the redd Lyon *Temperantia.*

'After this to followe vj, or viij Ladyes maskers, bringinge in, captive, Discorde, and False Reporte, with ropes of gold about there necks. When theis have marched about the haule, then Pallas to declare before the Quenes Ma^tie^ in verse, that the goddes, understandinge the noble meteinge of those ij quenes, hathe willed her to declare unto them, that those ij vertues, *Prudentia* and *Temperantia*, have made greate and longe sute unto Jupiter, that it wold please hym to gyve unto them False Reporte and Discorde, to be punished

---

inconvenient it would be to meet her personally, while the troubles continued in France. Mary seems to have been disappointed; and with her usual amenity wrote her good sister, whose ruling passion was dissimulation, her grief in not seeing the person in this world whom she would be gladdest to see.'—*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i, p. 62.

as they thinke good; and that those Ladyes have nowe in there presence determyned to committ them faste bounde unto th'aforesayde pryson of Extreme Oblyvion, there to be kepte by th'aforesayde gaylor Argus, otherwise Circumspection, for ever; unto whome *Prudentia* shall delyver a locke whereuppon shalbe wrytten *In Eternum.* Then *Temperantia* shall likewise delyver vnto Argus a key whose name shalbe *Nunquam*, signifyinge, that when False Report and Discorde are committed to the pryson of Extreme Oblyvion, and locked there everlastinglie, he should put in the key to lett them out *Nunquam:* and when he hathe so done, then the trompetts to blowe, and th'inglishe Ladies to take the nobilite of the straungers, and daunce.

'THE SECONDE NIGHT.

'First a Castell to be made in the haule, called the Courte of Plentye; then the maske after this sorte.

'Firste Peace, rydinge uppon a chariott drawen wth an Oliphant, uppon whome shall ryde Fryndeshippe, and after them vj or viij Ladyes maskers; and when they have marched rounde aboute the haule, Fryndshippe shall declare before the quenes highnes in verse, that the goddes Pallas hath latelie made a declaracion before all the godds, howe worthilie the night precedent theis ij vertues, *Prudentia* and *Temperantia*, behaved them selves in judginge, and condempninge False Reporte and Discord to the prison of Extreme Oblyvion: and understandinge that those ij vertues do remaine in that Cowrte of Plentye, they have, by there mightie power, sent this vertu, Peace, there to dwell with those ij Ladyes, for ever. To this Castell perteyneth ij porters, th'one to *Prudentia*, called Ardent Desyer, and th'other porter to *Temperantia*, named Perpetuitie; signifyinge that, by Ardent Desyer and Perpetuitie, perpetuall peace and tranquillitie maye be hadd and kept throughe the hole worlde. Then shall springe out of the Cowrt of Plentie conditts of all sorts of wynes, duringe w'ch tyme th'inglishe Lords shall maske wth the Scottishe Ladyes.

'THE THYRDE NIGHT.

'Firste shall come in Disdaine rydinge vppon a wilde bore; wth

hym Prepencyd Malyce, in the similitude of a greate serpent. These ij shall drawe an orcharde havinge golden apples, in w'ch orchard shall sitt vj, or viij, Ladyes maskers. Then Dysdaine shall declare before the quenes ma^tie^ in verse, that his M^r^. Pluto, the greate god of hell, takith no little displeasure w^th^ Jupiter, the god of heaven, for that he, in the ij other nyghts precedent, hath firste by Pallas sent Discord and False Reporte, being ij of his chefe servants, unto *Prudentia* and *Temperantia*, to be punisshed at there pleasure; and not content w^th^ this, but hathe the laste night, sent unto those ij Ladyes his most mortall enymye, Peace, to be onlie betwene them ij imbraced: wherefore Jupiter shall well understande, that in dispite of his doings, he hath sent his chefeste Capitayne, Prepencyd Mallyce, and wyllithe ether Argus, otherwyse Circumspection, to delyver unto hym Discorde, and False Reporte, his saide Masters servants, or ells th'afforesaid ij porters, Ardent Dessyer, and Perpetuitie, to delyver hym there masters enymie, Peace, chuse them whether.

'Then shall come in Discretion; after hym Valyant Courage, otherwise Hercules, rydinge vppon a horse, whose name is Boldnes, Discretyon leadynge hym by the raynes of the brydell: after hym vj or viij Lords maskers. Then Discretion shall declare before the quenes highnes in verse, that Jupiter dothe well foresee the mischevous intent of Pluto, and therefore, to confounde his pollyces, hathe sente from heaven this vertu Valyant Courage, w^ch^ shalbe suffycient to confounde all Plutos devices: neverthelesse thos ij dyvells, Dysdaine, and Prepencyd Malyce, are mervailous warryours; yea, suche as unlesse theis vertues, *Prudentia* and *Temperantia*, will of themselves by some signe or token conclude to imbrace Peace, in such sorte as Jupiter hathe sent hym unto them, it wilbe to harde for Valyant Courage to overcome those vyces; but if they once speake but one worde, the battaill is overcome as a trifle. And therefore Jupiter hathe willed Discretion, in the presence of those ij quenes, to repaier unto the Cowrte of Plentie, and there firste to demande of *Prudentia*, how longe her pleasure is, of her honor, that Peace shall dwell between her and *Temperantia*? Then *Prudentia* shall let downe unto Discretion, w^th^ a bande of golde, a grandgarde of assure, where-

uppon shalbe wrytten, in letters of gold, *Ever.* Then Discretion shall humblie demande of *Temperantia* uppon her honor, when Peace shall departe from *Prudentia*, and her grace? Then *Temperantia* shall lett downe unto Discretyon a girdell of assure, studded w^th^ gold, and a sworde of stele, whereuppon shalbe written, *Never;* w'ch grandgarde, and sworde, Discretion shall bringe, and laye at the fete of the ij quenes. Then Discretion (after a fewe words spoken) shall, before the quenes highnes, arme Valyant Courage, otherwise Hercules, w^th^ the grandgard of *Ever*, and gyrte hym w^th^ the sworde of *Never;* signifying that those ij Ladies have professed that Peace shall ever dwell w^th^ them, and never departe from them; and signifyinge also that there Valyant Courage shalbe ever at defyance w^th^ Disdaine and Prepencyd Mallice, and never leave untill he have overcome them. And then shall valyant courage alone go and fight w^th^ those ij; in the myddeste of w'ch fight, Disdaine shall rune his wayes, and escape w^th^ life, but the monster Prepencyd Mallyce shalbe slaine for ever: signifyinge that some vngodlie men maye still disdaine the perpetuall peace made betweene those ij vertues, but as for there prepencyd mallice, it is easye troden under theis Ladyes fete. After this shall come out of the garden, the vj or viij Ladies maskers w^th^ a songe, that shalbe made hereuppon, as full of armony as maye be devised.'

This valuable paper is endorsed 'May 1562', in the handwriting of Sir W. Cecill; and in shorthand or cypher he seems to have added something respecting the interview, and the despatch of Sir Henry Sidney to Scotland in July 1562, to excuse its postponement.

The plague, or, more properly, an infectious and fatal fever, brought by the English troops from Holland, raged most destructively in the year 1563; and it is recorded by Camden, that no less than 21,530 persons perished in London. Archbishop Grindall took this opportunity of using his exertions for the inhibition of all popular dramatic amusements for a year, if not entirely and for ever. 'The players

A. D. 1563.

(says Strype[1]) he called an 'idle sort of people, which had been infamous in all good commonwealths. These men did then daily, but especially on holidays, set up their bills inviting to plays, and the youth resorted excessively to them, and there took infection'. He complained to the Secretary that God's word was profaned by their impure mouths, and turned into scoffs: and by search, he perceived there was no one thing of late more like to have renewed the infection, there being such vast resort thither. And therefore he advised, for the remedy hereof, that Cecil would be the means of a proclamation to inhibit all plays for one whole year; and if it were for ever,' added he, 'it were not amiss: that is, within the City or three miles compass, upon pains, as well to the players, as to the owners of the houses where they played their lewd interludes.'

We are without any record to show that his advice was followed upon this occasion, although it is most probable that it was adopted as regarded the temporary prevention of the performance of plays—a course afterwards not unusual in times of great sickness.

In the State Paper Office is deposited an account, headed, 'a breif Estimat of all the charges agaynst Christmas and Candellmas [1563] for iij plays at Wyndsor,' including also the 'repayringe and new makinge of thre Maskes, with thare hole furniture and divers devisses, and a castle for Ladies, and a harboure for Lords,' etc., shewn before the Queen and the French Ambassadors at Richmond in the summer of 1564; and, finally, for 'the repayringe and translatinge of sunderie garments for playes at Cristmas, and Shroftid' [1564-5]. The cost of the whole was 444*l.* 11*s.* 5¾*d.*; and it only embraced a small part of the expenses incurred on these occasions for the wages and diets of the tailors, mercers, painters, etc.,

[1] *Life of Grindall*, p. 122, edit. 1821.

without any charge for materials, which seem to have been varied and costly. Castles, towns, etc., were represented, covered with painted canvas, 'a rocke or hill for the Muses to singe upon', and chariots for Diana and Pallas. This document is furnished with dates and marginal notes in the handwriting of Sir W. Cecill, from which we gain the interesting fact, not elsewhere recorded, that Richard Edwards (whose name will again occur presently) was the author of a 'tragedy' (possibly his *Damon and Pythias*) acted before the Queen, at Christmas 1564-5, by the children of the Chapel, of whom he was then master.[1] In January, during the festivities of Twelfthtide, the boys of 'the grammar skolle of Westminster', and the children of Paul's, performed at Court; and on the 18th of February, the Queen was entertained by the sons of Sir Perceval Hart, for whose play, among other things, 'divers cities, townes, and the Emperoure's pallace' were necessary. At Shrovetide the gentlemen of Gray's Inn presented her Majesty with 'divers showes', probably masks, in which Diana and Pallas were introduced, no play, as in the other instances, being specifically mentioned.

During her progress in the summer of 1564 the Queen visited the University of Cambridge, and was entertained at King's College with a play 'called *Ezechias* in English'.[2] It was made by Nicholas Udall (the author of an older comedy, named *Ralph Roister Doister*, several times of late years

[1] Chalmers (*Apology*, p. 354) inserts this document, but with various mistakes; and he made such sad work in decyphering the handwriting of Cecill, that he did not find out that the play by the children of the Chapel at Christmas 1564-5, was a tragedy by Edwards: what Cecill writes *Edwd's tragedy*, Chalmers printed merely as the name of an individual, *Edwd. Hayedy!*

[2] Nichols's *Progr. Eliz.*, i, 186, edit. 1823. See also Kempe's *Losely MSS.*, pp. 62 and 90, respecting Udall's authorship, and dramatic entertainments by him as early as the reign of Queen Mary.

reprinted), which may shew that he did not die in 1557, as has been generally supposed. *Ezechias* was, doubtless, a sacred drama, founded upon the Second Book of Kings.

The sum expended upon the Court revels in 1565 does not appear from any document yet discovered; but an account of the debts and payments of the Queen in that year[1] (prepared as it should seem by the special direction of Sir W. Cecill) shows, that on the last day of October 1565, 50*l.* remained due and unpaid to the Office of the Revels. Sir W. Cecill, in his own hand, has registered the payment of that sum to Sir Thomas Benger.

A. D. 1565.

On the 3rd of September 1566, Queen Elizabeth witnessed the performance of Edwards's *Palamon and Arcyte* in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford,[2] when she presented no less than eight guineas to one of the young performers who gave her peculiar satisfaction. We have no

A. D. 1566.

[1] *Cotton MSS., Titus B.* iii.

[2] Stow, in his *Chronicle*, mentions the name of the play, and adds that 'it had such tragical success as was very lamentable; for at that time, by the fall of a wall and a paire of staires and great prease of the multitude, three men were slain': p. 1118, edit. 1615. This accident seems to have happened on the first evening when the piece was performed, and when the Queen was not present. Peshall's *Hist. of Univ. Oxford*, p. 227. The following is Anthony Wood's account of the catastrophe, given from his MS., as corrected by Gough, and quoted in Nichols's *Progr. Eliz.*, i, 210:—'At night (Sept. 2nd) the Queen heard the first part of an English play, named *Palæmon* or *Palamon and Arcyte*, made by Mr. Richard Edwards, a gentleman of her Chapel, acted with very great applause in Christ Church Hall: at the beginning of which play there was, by part of the stage which fell, three persons slain, . . . besides five that were hurt. Afterwards the actors performed their parts so well, that the Queen laughed heartily thereat, and gave the author of the play great thanks for his pains.'

On the 5th of September, as we learn on the same authority, a Latin play, called *Progne*, by Dr. James Calfhill, was acted; 'but it did not

record of any revels at Court in this year;[1] but the old records of Leicester, as far as they can be relied upon, give us intelligence regarding an officer of the Court who exhibited there in this year, but of whom, and of whose employments, we hear nowhere else: the old books of the borough inform us that a person of the name of Lockwood had been rewarded by three shillings and four-pence as 'the Queen's Jester': he was, probably, some impudent pretender, who thus levied contributions from the ignorant for his gross absurdities. This is the first instance of the kind of which we have any information, but it deserves notice because, many years afterwards, we know that favourite comic performers from the London theatres sometimes adopted a similar mode of recruiting their finances.[2]

Revels were held at Gray's Inn, where George Gascoigne's[3] prose comedy, *The Supposes*, translated from *Ariosto*, and his blank-verse tragedy *Jocasta*, from *Euripides* (in adapting

take half so well as the much admired play of *Palamon and Arcyte*', which has not survived; but Edwards's *Damon and Pythias* is reprinted in Dodsley's *Old Plays:* the author was dead in 1567.

[1] On the 18th of April 1566, a warrant under the Privy Seal was granted to Sir T. Benger, 'M[r] of our Revells', to purchase in England, and to export for his own advantage, 300 tons of beer.

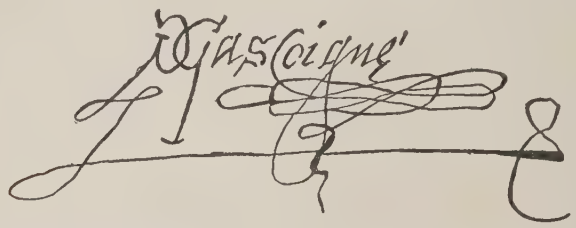
[2] See Kelly's excellent *Notices illustrative of the Drama and Popular Amusements in Leicester*, 1865, p. 197.

[3] George Gascoigne, the son of Sir John Gascoigne, after a life of much diversity, died at Stamford on the 7th of October 1577, as is supposed, at about the age of forty; so that when he produced these two plays he was twenty-nine years old. He afterwards served as a soldier in Holland; and wrote an account of the 'Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth', in 1575, at which he was present. He was subsequently in great pecuniary distress, was confined in the Counter (according to Nash's *Strange News*, 1592), and after his release presented Queen Elizabeth with *The Tale of Hermetes the Heremyte*, in English, Latin, and Italian; which tale had been 'pronounced before the Queens Majesty at Woodstock'.

which he was assisted by Francis Kinwelmersh and Christopher Yelverton), were represented.

The total expense of the wages of plumbers, painters, bricklayers, etc., employed in making preparations for 'the revels in the hall' at Shrovetide 1567, was only 29*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*, as appears by the *Paye-booke* in the Lansdowne Collection,[1] where the sum is inserted under the following head:—

This story is preserved in the British Museum (*Royal MSS.*, 18 *A.* xlviii), in the hand-writing of the author, who subscribes the address thus:—



Whether the drawing by which it is preceded (representing him on his knee before the Queen, one side of his person being in armour and the other in the dress of a civilian, with a pen in his ear) was executed by himself may be doubted, as it seems finished by a better hand. The following lines accompany it:—

'Beholde (good Quene) a poett with a speare,
(Straunge sightes well markt are understood the better)
A soldyer armde with pensyle in his eare;
With penne to fighte, and sworde to wryte a letter:
His gowne haulffe of, his blade not fully bownde,
In dowbtfull doompes which waye were best to take;
With humble harte, and knees that kysse the grownde,
Presentes hymselfe to you for dewtyes sake:
And thus he saithe: no daunger (I protest)
Shall ever lett this loyall harte I beare
To serve you so as may become me beste,
In feilde in towne in cowrte or any where.
Then, peereles prince, employe this willinge man
In your affayres to do the beste he cann.

Tam Marti quam Mercurio.'

[1] *Lansdowne MS.*, No. 9.

'Charges done for the Revells in the Hall uppon Shrove Sondaye, and Shrove Tuisdaye at nyghte.' The workmen had been employed for fourteen days.

How usual it was for the lower orders, at this date, to frequent public dramatic performances, may be gathered from the following brief extract of a small pamphlet published in 1567 by a person of the name of Edward Hake, and entitled, *Dialogues of the Merry Maidens of London:* he there asks 'For what be the cause wherefore would he have us restrained of our liberties? Forsooth, because he would not have us resort to Playes for privie contract;' adding, 'he finds fault with our great expenses in banquetting;' for this reason.

Among the *Harleian MSS.* is a very minute account of the entertainments before the Queen and her Court in A. D. 1568.[1] It is contained in a warrant for the payment 1568. of 634*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* to Sir Thomas Benger, for materials and work 'within the Office of the Revels', between the 14th of July 1567, and the 3rd of March 1568. During this interval 'seven plays' and one 'tragedy' had been represented before the Queen, the titles of which are all given with unusual particularity: it is the earliest record in which so much minuteness is observed, and the mere enumeration of the names of the plays furnishes us with some notion of the nature of the performances. The plays were the following:[2]—1. *As plain as can be;* 2. *The Painful Pilgrimage;* 3. *Jack and Jill;* 4. *Six Fools;* 5. *Wit and Will;* 6. *Prodigality;* 7. *Orestes.*

[1] *Harl. MS.* No. 146. It consists of warrants dated in the 10th, 11th, and 12th years of Elizabeth.

[2] At least under these titles: *Prodigality* may possibly have been the original of *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality*, 1602, obviously much older than the date when it was printed. We shall hereafter have occasion to speak of a tragedy called *Horestes*, printed in 1567, only very recently discovered.

We might have concluded that *Orestes* was a tragedy, as well as *The King of Scots* (which forms the eighth piece performed), had it not been distinguished as not belonging to that class. The scenery (if it may so be called), and other mechanical contrivances, are also enumerated, viz., Strato's house, Dobbin's house, Orestes' house, Rome, the Palace of Prosperity, Scotland, and 'a great castle'. We subjoin this important document in a note.[1]

The same MS. furnishes the expense of the Revels in the

[1] 'Revels. Sir Thomas Benger.

'Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Qwene of Englande, France, and Irelande, Defender of the faithe, &c. To the T'rer and Chamberlaynes of our Exchequer gretinge. Whereas it apperethe by a Legiere Booke, subscribed under the handes of the officers of oure Revells, and remayninge with the Auditors of our preste, that ther is growne due to ceartayne Credditors, Artificeares, and Woorkmen, for stuffe deliv'de and woorke donne within thoffice of our Revells, from the xiiij day of Julye in the ix^th^ yeare of our Raigne, untill the third daye of Marche in the tenthe yeare of our saide Raigne, the some of six hunderede fowre and thirtie poundes nyne shillings and five-pence, ymployed uppon theis Playes, Tragidies, and Maskes following, *viz.*, Imprimis for seven playes: the firste namede, *as playne as canne be;* the seconde, *the paynfull pillgrimage;* the thirde, *Jacke and Jyll;* the forthe, *Sixe fooles;* the fivethe callede *witte and will;* the sixte callede *Prodigallitie;* the seventhe of *Oreste;* and a Tragedie of the *kinge of Scotts:* to ye whiche belonged divers howses for the settinge forthe of the same, as *Stratoes howse, Dobbyns howse, Orestes howse, Rome, the Pallace of prosperitie, Scotlande,* and a gret Castell one thothere side. Likewise for the altering and newe makinge of sixe masks out of ould stuffe, with torchbearers therunto, wherof iiij hathe byne shewene before us, and two remayne unshewen. Wherfore our will and pleasure is y^t^ of suche our tresure as rem [remaineth] presentlie in the Receipte of our Exchequer, or that hereafter shall come into the same, you contente and paye, or cause to be contentede and payde, unto our trustie and wellbelovede searvaunte, Sir Thomas Benger, knight, or his Assigne, the sayde some of vj c xxx iv*li.* ix*s.* v*d.*, to be payed oute unto the sayed Credditors, and suche otheres as the same is owinge unto.

next year, 1569; the warrant for the payment of which bears date 10th of May 1570, for the sum of 453*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*[1] A. D. 1569. It states, only in general terms, that 'playes, tragedies, and masks' had been performed at Christmas and Shrovetide; but it gives the names of none of them. The same remark will apply to a third warrant for the Revels of 1570; it is dated 29th of July 1571, and is for 499*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, and speaks merely of 'playes, tragedies, and masks' then performed. A. D. 1570.

In the office of the Auditors of the Imprest Malone found various accounts of the Revels, the oldest, as has been before remarked, dated in the early part of 1571, and entitled, 'Revels in one year, ending on Shrovetewsdaye, in the 14th yeare of our Soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth'.[2] A. D. 1571. It goes into a vast variety of uninteresting details, but mixed up with them are some curious and important matters. The total expense of the Revels for the year preceding Shrove Tuesday 1571, was 1558*l.* 17*s.* 5½*d.*, and the following are given as the names of the six plays upon which that unusually large sum had been expended :—

'*Lady Barbara*, showen on Sainte John's day at nighte, by Sir Robert Lane's men.

And theis our lres. shalbe your sufficient warraunte and dischardge in this behalfe. Geven under our privie Seale, at our manor of Grenwich, the xi daye of June, in the tenth yeare of our Raigne. 'KERRY.'

'Sir Thomas Benger, Knight, Mr of the Revelles.'

(*Harl. MSS.*, No. 146.)

The tragedy of *Tancred and Gismunda*, by R. Wilmot and other students of the Inner Temple, was also this year played before Queen Elizabeth. See Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ii, p. 157, edit. 1825.

[1] *Harl. MS.*, No. 589, is 'a brief of monies paid by warrant of Privy Seal, A° 10 Eliz., 1569', and contains an entry of '453*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* for the cost of revels'.

[2] Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 364.

'*Effigenia*, a tragedye, showen on the Innocents daie at nighte, by the children of Powles.

'*Ajax and Ulisses*, showen on new years daie at nighte, by the children of Wynsor.

'*Narcissus*, showen on Twelfe daye at nighte, by the children of the Chappell.

'*Cloridon and Radiamanta*, showen on Shrove Sunday at nighte, by Sir Robert Lane's men.

'*Paris and Vienna*, showen on Shrove Tewsdaie at nighte, by the children of Westminster.'

Malone has correctly remarked, that it seems to have been part of the duty of the Master of the Revels to have the plays rehearsed to him before they were presented at Court; and this account adds, that the preceding six plays 'were chosen owte of many, and founde to be the best that were then to be had.' Besides the plays, six masks were introduced, and among the properties for both are horse-tails, hobby-horses, 'branches of silk, and other garniture for pageants', sceptres, wheat-sheaves, bodies of men in timber, dishes for devils eyes, devices for hell and hell-mouth, bows, bills, dags, swords, spears and fireworks. In the play of *Narcissus*, a fox was let loose in the Court and pursued by dogs, for providing which (with other necessaries), a charge is made of 28*s.* 8*d.*: counterfeit thunder and lightning in the same play were procured at an expense of 22*s.*: twenty-one vizards, with long beards, and six Turks' vizards, were furnished by a person of the name of Thomas Gyles, whom Malone supposes to have been the same person who was afterwards master of the children of St. Paul's.

This supposition is, however, probably, mistaken. Thomas Gyles (or, as he spells his own name, Gylles), was a man whose trade it was to let out apparel for public and private entertainments; and in the very year of which we are now

speaking, 1571, he made a complaint in writing to Sir William Cecill (among whose papers it is found[1]) that the Yeoman of the Queen's Revels injured his business and the Queen's dresses, by improperly, and for hire, allowing them to be taken out of the office, in order to be worn at marriages, banquets, etc., in town and country.[2]

[1] *Lansd. MSS.*, No. 13.

[2] The following is the opening of Gyles's representation to Lord Burghley:—

'Wheras the yeman of the quenes Magestyes revells dothe usuallye lett to hyer her said hyghnes masks, to the grett hurt, spoyle and dysordyr of the same, to all sort of persons that wyll hyer the same: by reson of wyche comen usage the gloss and bewtye of the same garments ys lost, and cannot so well serve to be often alteryd, and to be shewyde before hyr hyghnes, as otherwyes yt myght and hath byn usyde; for yt takythe more harme by once werynge into the cytye or contre, where yt ys often usyd, then by many tymes werynge in the court, by the grett presse of people, and fowlnes bothe of the weye and soyll of the werers; who for the most part be of the meanest sort of mene, to the grett dysoredyr of the same aparrell, which afterwarde ys to be shewyd before her heyghnes, and to be worne by theme of grett callynge: and ytt is also to the doble charges of hyr grace.'

He prays, therefore, that some remedy may be afforded, by taking the garments to pieces after they have been worn at Court, or otherwise; and subjoins a list of twenty-one instances in which he can prove that the apparel of the Revels had been thus let out to hire: they are curious, as they shew the extreme frequency of entertainments at which such dresses could be employed. The list is entitled,

'A noett off certeyne maskes of the quenes magestyes, which hathe been lent by the offycers of the revells, syns the fyrst of Janvarye last past, 1571.

'1. In primis the gownes of red clothe of golde, wyche was alteryd for lyncolnes in, Janvarye last.

'2. Item the yello clothe of golde gownes, lent to greyes in in Janarye.

'3. Lent the new mask of blak and whytt, which was shewyd before the quene in the crystmas holydays: the same mask was lent to the Temple in the crystmas tyme.

In the year 1571, the Queen was at Saffron Walden, where she was probably attended by the Earl of Leicester's players, as in the Town Treasurer's accounts of that year is an entry of a small reward of *2s. 6d.* paid 'Lord Leicesters Men', while Elizabeth was there.[1]

'4. Lent the same mask of blak and whytt to my lord mayor, on twelff nyght last.

'5. Lent the yello clothe of golde gownes to the horshed tavern in chepsyde, the 21 of Janvary.

'6. Lent the yello clothe of [gold] gownes from the bullhed in chep to Mr. Blanks, the 28 of Janvarye.

'7. Lent the new mask of blak and whytt gounes to edward hynds maryage into Kent, 10 of february.

'8. Lent the changable taffyte gownes, new the 14 of febrarye, from the Seynt Jhn° hede to Mr. ryves into flett strett.

'10, 11. Lent on shrove sondaye ij masks of gownes into the charterhowse yarde.

'12. Lent the mask of blak and whytt gownes on maye yeve, which cam throw chepsyde.

'13. Lent the new morre satten gounes, the 6 of maye, to my lady champyons.

'14. Lent the red clothe of gold gownes into Kent, the 7 of Septembre, beyng worn ij nyghts.

'15. Lent the red clothe of golde gownes to a taylor maryag in the blak fryers, the 15 of Septembre.

'16. Lent the coper clothe of golde gownes, which was last made, and on other mask into the contre, to the maryage of the dowter of my lorde montague.

'17. Lent the red clothe of golde gownes into the bedgrowe [Budgerowe?], the 6 of octobre.

'18. Lent the new maske of coper clothe of gold gounes to Denmans marag, the 14 of octobre.

'19. Lent the red clothe of gold gownes the 14 of Octobre to Denmans maryage.

'20. Lent the 2 of novembre the yello clothe of golde maske into flett street by the churche.

'21. Lent the 11 of novembre the blak and whytt gownes into soper laen, to Mr. Martyns marayge.

[1] Nichols's *Progr. Eliz.*, i, 281, edit. 1823.

Warton[1] mentions the grant, in 1571, of a licence to a person of the name of Swinton, 'to have and use some plays and games at or uppon nine severall sondaies', and he expresses a doubt, whether something dramatic may not have been included. The 'plays and games' specified are shooting with the broad arrow, leaping, pitching the bar, 'and the like': the general clause at the end, 'with all such other games as have at anye time heretofore, or now be, licensed, used, or played', does not seem at all to embrace theatrical representations: it alludes rather to tennis, bowling, etc., which had been often forbidden, and were now allowed only under particular permission. For this purpose, on the 11th of March 1560, a warrant, under the Privy Seal, had been issued in favour of Edward Roberts, gentleman, who was thereby authorised to 'use and occupy the pastyme of bowling', in or at his dwelling house, 'for the recreation of all manner our true subjects', etc., '*prentises and other lewd persons only except.*'

Among the Cottonian MSS. there is a very particular account of the whole expense of the musical and dramatic establishment of Elizabeth in 1571, under the head: — 'Th'office of the Treasorer of the Quenys Majesties chamber', including 'the ordinary payments and other expenses' of that office. Hence we find that she had 18 trumpeters, 7 violins, 6 flutes, 6 sackbuts, 10 persons called musicians, who were probably singers (or, 'musicians for the voice' as they were sometimes called) and 4 interlude players; besides 3 keepers of bears and mastives, who were not unfrequently required to contribute to the amusement of her Majesty.[2] The total

[1] *History of English Poetry*, iii, p. 153, edit. 8vo.

[2] The account is made out in the following manner; and it is contained in *Cotton MS. Vespasian C*, xiv :—

'Wages of Trompetors xviij.—Itm to Benedick Browne, Sergeaunte

annual charge was 1289*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* It should seem also from a MS. in the Lansdowne Collection[1], that in the following year some inquiry was instituted into the increased expense of this department; when it appeared that the salaries of the seven performers on the violin had been increased by the addition of 155*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*—of the six flute players by the addition of

Trompetor, and xiij other trompetors, at 16*d.* per diem, and to iij other, at 8*d.* per diem; for all their wages per annum, 401*l.* 10*s.*

'Vyolens, vij.—Itm to the vyolons, being vij of them, every one at 20*d.* per diem for their wages, and 16*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* for their lyveries. In all per Ann., 325*l.* 15*s.*

'Fluytes, vj.—Itm to the Fluytes, being vj in nombre, viz., Guyllam Duvet at 14*d.* per diem; Pyro Guye at 2*s.* 8*d.* per diem; Thomas Pagyngton at 12*d.* per diem; Allen Robson at 12*d.* per diem; James Furyarte at 20*d.* per diem; and Nicholas Lanyer at 20*d.* per diem for his wages—for his bowrde wages 7*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, and for his liveryes yerely 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In all per Ann., 188*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*

'Sagbutts, vj.—Itm to Antony Maria and John Lanyer, Sagbuts, every of them at 16*d.* per day for their wages; Raulf Grene at 16*d.* per diem for his wages; Robarte May, Edwarde Petala, and Robart Howlet for their wages, every of them at 8*d.* per diem; and to the sayde John Lanyer and Raulf Grien for their bourde wages, every of them at 4*d.* per diem. In all per Ann., 121*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

'Musicions, x.—Itm to the Musycions, viz., to Rychard Woodwarde and Robarte Woodwarde for their wages, every of them at 8*d.* per diem; Rycharde Pike at 12*d.* per diem; and to the vj bretherne Bassanyes and Antony Maria, every of them at 16*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* yerely for their liveryes. In all per Ann., 185*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

'Interlude playors, iiij.—Itm to the iiij Enterlude playors, every of them at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per Ann. for their wages, and 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* for their liveryes. In all, 18*l.*

'Keapars of Beares and Mastives, iij.—Itm to Mathew Becke, Sergeaunte of the beares, for his wages per Ann., 12*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.* Item to Symon Powlter, yoman, per Ann., 14*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* Itm to Richard Darryngton, Mr and Kepar of the bandogges and mastives, per Ann., 21*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

[1] *Lansdowne MS.*, No. 12; being 'an account, showing the increase of payments by the Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber', in 1572.

15*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*—of six players on sackbuts by the addition of 69*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*—and of '5 musycions with More, the harp', by the addition of 36*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* Whether reductions were then made to this, or to any other extent we are not informed.

In 1572 we have a legislative proof, if any were wanting, of the extreme commonness of the profession of an actor over the whole kingdom. We have seen that companies of players, acting as the servants of the nobility, travelled round the country as early as the reign of Edward IV; and from that date until 1572, itinerant performers, calling themselves the retainers of the nobility, had become so numerous, that it was found necessary to pass a statute for their regulation and control. The 14th Eliz., c. 5, was devised for this purpose; and in section 5 it provides, that 'all fencers, bearwards, common-players in interludes, and minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this realm, or to any other honorable personage of greater degree; all jugglers, pedlars, tinkers and petty chapmen, which said fencers, bearwards, common-players in interludes, minstrels, &c., shall wander abroad, and not have licence of two justices of the peace at the least', shall be deemed, and dealt with as rogues and vagabonds.[1] The evil was, that many companies strolled about the kingdom without any authority or protection, although pretending to have it; and all such by

A. D. 1572.

[1] Malone does not seem to have been aware of the existence of this statute (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 48), and refers to the 39th of Eliz., c. 4, as the first act which, by implication, authorized noblemen to license players. The 39th of Elizabeth was passed to revive the 14th of Elizabeth, the terms of which it nearly follows, requiring in addition, that the players of the nobility, wandering abroad, should be 'authorized to play' under 'the hand and seal of arms' of the Baron or personage of greater degree. The evil had, doubtless, increased in 1595, and a question had perhaps arisen how strolling companies were to prove their protection.

the statute of 1572 are declared rogues and vagabonds, and liable to the treatment and punishment inflicted upon such persons.

At the period at which we have now arrived, we hear of the exhibitions by the players of the nobility, in nearly all the large towns of England, where they were generally received and aided by the corporations: their names are not often given, but the practice was usually, if they could not obtain the use of any large hall or other public building, to perform in the open air, and by daylight: to pay themselves they usually collected money among the crowd, and if (as of course was usually the case), the money thus taken did not satisfy the wishes of the performers, additions were made by the Corporation from its funds. In 1571 Lockwood, 'the Quene's Majesty's Jester' was paid 2*s.* 6*d.*, and in the next year he was paid the same sum, though his name is not given. In 1572, in the same accounts, we find that the players of Lord Worcester, of Coventry, the Queen's Players, the Earl of Leycester's Players, the Players of the Earl of Sussex, the Lord Derby, and various others, were paid 8*s.*, 7*s.* 4*d.*, 5*s.*, and 6*s.* 8*d.*; while the Bearward of the Earl of Essex obtained no less than 19*s.* 8*d.* out of the corporate funds. In most of these cases a gathering from the crowd had also been made, but not to the desired extent.[1] The names of the Earl of Worcester's Players are given, one of them being Edward Allen, who may have been the founder of Dulwich College: the others were Robert Browne, Jas. Tunstall, William Harrison, Thomas Cooke, Richard Jones, Edward Brown, and Richard Andrews; and at about the date we have now reached they had a very angry dispute with the Corporation of Leicester, which we find thus related in the original town-records. We copy it for its singularity :—

[1] See Kelly's *Leicester Accounts*, etc., p. 204.

'M^m^ that Mr. Mayor did geve the aforesaid playors an angell towards their dinner, & willed them not to playe at the present, being Fryday the vjth of Marche, for that the time was not convenient. The foresaid playors mett Mr. Mayor in the strete near Mr. Newcomes house, after the angell was given about two houres, who then craved lycence agayne to play at their inn, and he told them they should not: then they went away, and sayd they wold play whether he wold or not, and in despite of him, with divers other evyll and contemptuous words. Witness hereof Mr. Newcom, Mr. Wycam and Willm. Dethicke.

'More. These men, contrary to Mr. Mayor's commandment, went with their drum and trumpets thorowe the Towne in contempt of Mr. Mayor, neither wold come at his commandment by his Officer, viz. :—Wm. Pateson my lord Harbards man, Tho. Powlton my lord of Worcester's man; where they did so much abuse Mr. Mayor in the aforesayd words.

'Nota. These sayd Playors have submitted themselves & are sorrye for there words past and craved pardon, desyeringe his Worshyp not to write to there Master agayne; and so upon there submyssyn they are lycensed to play this night at there inn: and also they have promysed that uppon the Stage, in the begynying of there play, to shoe to the hearers that they are licensed to playe by Mr. Mayor and his good will, and that they are sory for the words past.'

The probability is that such a scene, as is here described with so much particularity, was not unfrequently enacted in populous places; and that the self-importance of the public authorities was often thus outraged by the insolence of travelling companies of players; who wished to act even in spite of the authority, or of the religious opinions of some of the inhabitants. What we have quoted may, therefore, be taken as a specimen.

The royal revels between Shrovetide 1571, and May 31, 1572, were more than usually costly. 'A brief declaration' of the charges for 'new making, setting forthe, & furnishing

divers maskes and playes shewen before her Majestie',[1] proves the expense to have been 3905*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* No particulars are given to enable us to judge of the nature of the performances, beyond an item for 'the hire of *armour* for settinge forthe of divers playes.' In the Chapter-house, Westminster, was a Privy Seal by the Queen, dated 4th May 1572, for the payment of 50*l.* to 'Lewes Stocket, Esquire, Surveyor of the Works', for what he had done towards the representation of 'Playes and Tragedies at Christmas, and Shrovetyde last.'

Stow and Holinshed agree in stating, that after the conclusion of the league with France, the Duke de Montmorency, Paule de Foix, and Bertrand de Saligners arrived in this country as ambassadors 'about the ninth of June 1572.' Magnificent preparations were made for their entertainment; and a Privy Seal was issued, dated the 18th June 1572,[2] for the payment of 300*l.* to John Fortescue, Esq., Master of the Great Wardroble, and of 200*l.* to Lewes Stocket, Surveyor of the Works, for the revels and triumphs on this occasion. In the British Museum, is an account dated 12th July 1572, *in the French language*, of all the cloth of gold, silks, velvets, etc., furnished by John Fortescue, Esq., to Sir Thomas Benger, *Maitre de les Maskes, Revelles et Triumphes*, the value of which was no less than 3757*l.* 8*s.*[3] By a statement in the Office of Auditors of the Imprest it appears, that a temporary banqueting-house was erected at Whitehall for the reception of the Duke and his train, which cost 224*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*; but it is impossible to separate from the general account of the Revels all the items which relate to the ceremonies at this date. The total amount there stated, is 1427*l.* 12*s.* 6½*d.*; but it includes certain preparations for

[1] *Lansdowne MS.*, No. 9.

[2] It was in the Chapter-house, Westminster; among the Privy Seals of the reign of Elizabeth.

[3] *Lansdowne MS.*, No. 9.

plays at Christmas and Shrovetide, performed by a company of boys under Richard Mulcaster, then Master of the Merchant Tailors' School; by the children of Windsor; by Dutton's company, by Lord Leicester's men, and by Elderton's players.[1] One of the pieces acted was upon the story of *Theagines and Chariclea*, and another was called *The play of Fortune*. The *Mask of Janus* is mentioned; and in another Apollo and the Nine Muses sat upon an artificial mount drawn in a chariot fourteen feet long, and eight feet wide. Discord, in a collar and shackles, seems to have been prominent in that part of the entertainments.

It is a fact, not noticed by Malone nor Chalmers, that the preceding was the last occasion on which Sir Thomas Benger acted as Master of the Revels. At his death, in March 1577, he was greatly in debt, and possibly his embarrassments might interfere with the discharge of his official duties.[2] His secession is established by several documents. He received from the Master of the Great Wardrobe the cloth of gold, silks, velvets, etc., spoken of in the preceding paragraph, in his capacity of Master of the Revels; but when the account was sent in to the Lord Treasurer (among whose papers it is preserved)[3] it was indorsed in the following manner: —

[1] According to Kempe's *Losely MSS.*, p. 47, it appears that as early as 1552 Elderton had played the fourth son of the Lord of Misrule: he was then young, but he terminated his career as a popular ballad-writer, and was famous for his red nose. He was dead before 1606, and his latest known publication was *A new merey News*, printed in that year.

[2] Chalmers found his will proved in the Prerogative Office on the 27th March 1577, by Thomas Fugal, his Chaplain and Executor. The testator admits, that he left 'many debts with very few goods to pay them'. (*Apology*, p. 482.) Sir T. Benger had also a grant of fines on alienations, but he complained that it did not add much either to his consequence or to his wealth.

[3] *Lansdowne MS.*, No. 9.

'Touching Sir Thom. Benger, K. *late* Mr. of the Masks, Revells, & Tryumphs, of certen stuffe receaved owte of the greate Wardrobe.' In the 'booke of all the charges growen within thoffice of her Majesties Revells from the last of
A. D. October 1573, until the 1st March 1573[4]', it is
1573. stated, that during that period of four months 'Thomas Blagrave, Esquier, servid therein as Master, according to her Majestys pleasure to him signifyed by the Right honourable Lord Chamberlaine', the Earl of Sussex. He had no regular appointment as Master of the Revels until after the death of Sir Thomas Benger; and we may therefore conclude, that although Sir Thomas Benger ceased to act, he retained his situation, Blagrave, by the Queen's order, discharging the duties as deputy.

The cost of the Revels at Christmas, New-year-tide, Twelfth-tide and Shrovetide (all falling within the four
A. D. months from the end of October 1573, to the be-
1573-4. ginning of March 1573-4), was *672l.* 14*s.* *2d.*: it included the expenses of preparations, etc., for plays and masks (each mask having its torch-bearers), a list of which, as performed at Christmas, New-year-tide and Twelfth-tide, is given as follows, in the account in the Office of the Auditors of the Imprest.[1]

'*Pedor & Lucia*, played by therle of Leicesters Servaunts upon St Steevens daye at nighte at Whitehall.

'*Alkmeon*, played by the Children of Powles on St. Johns daye at nighte there.

'*Mamillia*, playde by therle of Leicesters Servaunts on Innocents daye at nighte there.

'*Truth, Faythfulnesse & Mercye*, playde by the Children of Westminster for Elderton, upon New-yeares daye at night there.

'*Herpetulus, the blew Knighte, and Perobia*, playde by my lord

[1] Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 375.

Klintons servants the 3d of January, beinge the Sundaye after New-yeares day there.

'*Quintus Fabius*, playde by the Children of Wyndsor for Mr. Farrant on Twelfe daye at nighte; likewise at Whitehall.'

The three Masks at Whitehall were the following:—

'Lance Knights vi, in blew sattyn gaskon cotes and sloppes.—Torche bearers vi, in black and yelo taffata, &c. Showen on St. Johns daye at nighte.

'Forresters, or Hunters vi, in green sattyn gaskon cotes and sloppes.—Torche bearers attyred in mosse and ivye &c. Shewen on New-yeares daye at nighte.

'Sages vi, in long gownes of counterfet cloth of golde, &c. Torche bearers in long gownes of red damask. Showen on Twelfe daye at nighte.'

Among the properties, etc., for these several performances, were 'canvass to paynte for howses for the players', monsters, great hollow trees; 'bays for the Prologgs'; 'a jebbett to hang up Diligence';[1] counterfeit fishes for the play of Pedor; a dragon's head; a truncheon for the Dictator; deal boards for the Senate-house; and 'pynnes, styf and greate, for paynted clothes.'

On Candlemas night, it appears by the same authority, only one play was performed by Mulcaster's children at Hampton Court: it was called *Timoclia at the siege of Thebes;* and in consequence of the 'tediousness of the play', a mask of ladies representing the six Virtues could not be performed. Among the charges, is *7s.* 10*d.* to 'the scrivener for writing in fayre text the 8 speeches dd (delivered) to her Majestie.'

[1] Probably in the Moral, Moral-play, or Morality of *Truth, Faithfulness, and Mercy:* the other productions had, possibly, some resemblance to dramas, historical or fabulous.

Two plays and two masks were represented at Shrovetide: the plays were:—

Philimon and Philecia, playde by the Erle of Leicesters men on Shrovemundaye at nighte.

Perseus and Anthomeris,[1] playde by Munkester's [Mulcaster's] children on Shrovetewsdaye at nighte.

The maskes were 'Warriors VII, with one shipp-master that uttered speeche'; and 'Ladyes VII, with one that uttered a speeche', each having torch-bearers as usual.

The charges on this occasion, among other articles, were for 'fethers for the new maskers'; 'carriage of frames and painted clothes for the players howses'; 'diets for children while learning their parts and gestures'; and for an Italian woman and her daughter, who lent and dressed the hairs of the children.

It has been seen that the Earl of Leicester's players are frequently mentioned in the accounts of the Office of the Revels, and that they performed before the Queen three times within the four months preceding March 1st, 1573-4. We now arrive at an important event in the history of our stage—the grant of the first *Royal Patent* conceded in this country to performers of plays. The Earl of Leicester, through his influence with the Queen, procured it, as a special privilege for his own servants, James Burbadge (no doubt the father of Richard Burbadge, who afterwards obtained such great distinction in his profession), John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wylson. The 'licence', as it has been erroneously termed, for these five actors, has hitherto

[1] Malone conjectured that this was an ignorant blunder of the person making out the accounts for *Andromeda*, and no doubt he was right. In the Book of Charges of the preceding year, the following item is contained, 'John Arnolde, Yeoman of the office, for mony by him payd to Arnolde the paynter, for the picture of Andromeda.'

been printed from a MS. in the unpublished collections of Rymer, in the British Museum:[1] we were fortunate enough to discover the original Privy Seal in the Chapter-house, Westminster, which fixes the date of the grant at Greenwich, on the 7th, and not at Westminster on the 10th of May 1574,[2] as it stands in Rymer's inaccurate copy. On comparing the two, it will be found that there are other material variations, independent of the fact, that it was not a mere 'licence' which was conceded, but a *Patent under the Great Seal*, the Privy Seal directing that such an instrument should be prepared. We reprint it precisely as it stands in the original document formerly in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

A. D. 1574.

'By the Queene.

'Right trustie and welbeloved Counsello$_r$ we grete you well, and will and commaunde yow, that under our Privie Seale for the tyme being in yo^r keping, yow cause our lres to be directed to the keper of our greate Seale of England, willing and comaunding him, that under our said greate Seale he cause our lres patents to be made forth in forme following. Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of England, France, and Ireland, defendo^r of the faith, &c. To all Justices, Mayors, Sheriefs, Bayliffs, head Constables, under Constables, and all other our officers and ministers greeting. Knowe ye that we, of our especiall grace, certen knowledge and mere mocion, have licenced and authorized, & by these psents do license and

---

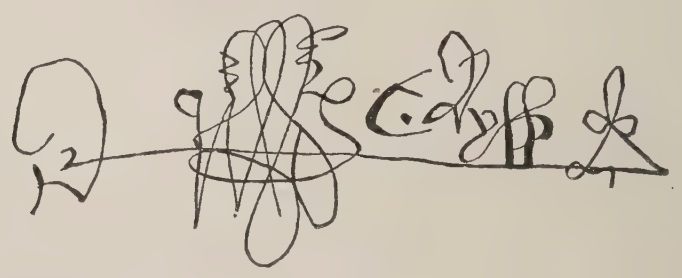
[1] Ayscough's *Cat. of MSS.*, *Sloane*, No. 4625. It was first published from this copy by Steevens in his *Shakespeare*, ii, 156.

[2] The variation in the date may arise from the circumstance, that the Privy Seal was issued on the 7th of May, and the Patent not made out until the 10th of May. It will be observed, likewise, that some of the names are spelt differently in the Privy Seal, and in the MS. in the Museum: the spelling of Burbadge supports Chalmers's conjecture, as to the etymology, and true orthography of that name.

aucthorize, our loving subjects James Burbadge, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wylson, servaunts to o^r^ trustie and welbeloved cosyn and Counsello^r^, the Earle of Leicestre, To use, exercise and occupie the art and faculty of playeing Comedies, Tragedies, Enterludes, Stage playes, and such other like, as they have alredy used and studied, or hereafter shall use and studye, as well for the recreacion of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure, when we shall thinke good to se them. As also to use and occupye all such Instrom^ts^ as they have alredy practised, or hereafter shall practise, for & during our ples^r^: And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Enterludes, and Stage playes, together w^th^ there musick, to shewe, publisshe, exercise and occupy to their best comoditie during all the terme afforesaid, as well w^th^in our Cyty of London and Libties of the same, as also w^th^in the liberties and fredoms of any our Cytyes, townes, Boroughes, &c. whatsoever, as w^th^ out the same, throughout our Realme of England: willing and commaunding yow and every of yow, as ye tender our pleasure, to p'mit and suffer them herin w^th^out any yo^r^ letts, hinderance, or molestacion during the terme afforesaid, any act, statute, p'clamacion, or comaundmt hertofore made, or hereafter to be made, to the contrary notw^th^standing. Provided that the saide Comedies, Tragadies, Enterludes, and Stage-playes be by the M^r^ of our Revills (for the tyme being) before seen and allowed, and that the same be not publisshed, or shewen in the tyme of commen prayer, or in the tyme of great and common plague in our said Cyty of London. In witnes whereof, &c. And these our lres shalbe yo^r^ sufficient warr^t^ and discharge in this behalf.

'Geven under our signet, at or manno^r^ of Greenewich, the vij^th^ daye of maye, the sixtenth yere of our reigne, 1574.

'Ex^d^



'It is indorsed "Players", and addressed at the back,
'To o^r^ right trustie and welbeloved Counsello^r^, S^r^ Thomas Smyth, knight, Keper of o^r^ Privie Seale for the tyme being.'

This instrument empowers the five persons named in it, during the Queen's pleasure, to use, exercise, and occupy the art and faculty of playing *comedies*, *tragedies*, *interludes*, *and stage plays*, as well for the recreation of the Queen's subjects, as for her own solace and pleasure 'within the City of London' and its liberties, and within any cities, towns, and boroughs throughout England. It will be remarked that the privilege thus given to the Earl of Leicester's players to perform *within the City of London and its liberties* is an omission in the copy of the 'license', as it existed among Rymer's unpublished papers,[1] and its importance will be evident from what followed this great dramatic event.

[1] It is quite evident that it was an error by Rymer's scribe, as the words he gives at the close 'in our *said* city of London' have no reference to anything preceding.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1575 TO THE YEAR 1585.

THE special right conceded to the players of the Earl of Leicester was strenuously opposed by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London :[1] whether prior to the 22nd of July 1574, the company had made any attempt to perform *within the City*,

[1] Before the grant and the date of the Patent, it seems that formal application had been made by letter to the civic authorities, that a person of the name of Holmes might be allowed to fix upon fit and convenient places for the representation of 'plays and interludes' within the boundaries of the City. The alarm seems to have been instantly taken, and in March 1573, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and other leading personages wrote a very strong remonstrance on the subject, which they addressed to the Lord Chamberlain of that day, declining respectfully to take the course proposed to them: their representation, however, seems to have been of no avail; it was in the following form, as we find in the *Cotton. MSS.* (Roll xvi, No. 41):—

'To the right honorable our singuler good Lord, the Erle of Sussex, Lord Chamberlan of the Quenes Ma^ties^ most honorable household.

'Our dutie to yo^r^ good L. humbly done. Where yo^r^ L. hath made request in favor of Mr. Holmes for our assent that he might have the apointement of places for playes and enterludes within this citie. It may please your L. to reteine vndouted assurance of our redinesse to gratifie, in any thing that we reasonably may, any persone whom yo^r^ L. shal favor and commend. Howbeit this case is such, and so nere touching the governance of this citie in one of the greatest maters therof, namely

and were not allowed to do so by the magistracy, does not appear; but on that day, a licence was granted by the Privy Council, 'to the players *to go to London*, and to be well used on their voyage'; and a letter was then also written to the Lord Mayor, requiring him 'to admit the comedy players within the city of London, and to be otherwise favourably used'.[1] Perhaps temporary obedience was paid to this mandate; but, in the next year, 1575, the Common Council adopted orders for the regulation of plays, which, if carried into execution, would have had the effect of entirely preventing their exhibition within the city.

This 'Act of Common Council', as it is termed, refers, in what may be considered its preamble, to the 'disorders and

the assemblies of multitudes of the Quene's people, and regard to be had to sondry inconveniences wherof the peril is continually vpon euerie occasion to be foreseen by the rulers of this citie, that we can not with our duties, byside the president farre extending to the hurt of our liberties, well assent that the sayd apointement of places be committed to any priuate persone. For which and other resonable considerations it hath long since pleased yo^{r} good L., among the rest of her ma^{ties} most honorable counsell, to rest satisfied with our not graunting the like to such persons as by their most honorable lettres was heretofore in like case commended vnto us. Byside that if it might with resonable conuenience be graunted, great offres haue ben and be made for the same to the relefe of the poore in the hospitalles; which we hold, or assured, that yo^{r} L. will well allow that we preferre before the benefit of any private persone. And so we commit yo^{r} L. to the tuition of Almighty God. At London this second of march 1573.—Yo^{r} L. humble,

John Ryvers, Maio^{r}; Row. Haywarde, Alder.; William Allyn, Aldarman; Leonell Duckett, alder.; Jarvys Haloys, Aldarman; Ambrose Nichas, Ald.; John Langley, Ald.; Thomas Ramsey, Wyllyam Bond, John Olyffe, Richard Pype, W^{m}. Box, Thomas Blanke, Nicholas Woodrof, John Branch, Anthony Gamage, Wyllm Kympton, Wolstan Dixe.'

[1] Both these facts are stated in the registers of the Privy Council for the month of July 1574.

inconveniences' resulting from the performance of plays, interludes, and shews; and then it enacts, under pain of fine and imprisonment, that no play shall be performed in the City which has not first been 'perused and allowed' by persons to be appointed by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; that the licence of the Lord Mayor shall be necessary before every public exhibition; and that half the money taken shall be applied to charitable purposes. This document has been printed by Strype in his edition of *Stow's Survey* (i, 292), but the errors there are numerous, and as it throws new light on the state of the drama at the period of which we are now speaking, we insert it in a note from the original MS. in the British Museum.[1]

We have no distinct evidence as to the result of this contest between the Court and City, but it is to be doubted, whether

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 20.

'Orders of the Common Council, made Dec. 6, 17th Eliz., James Hawes, Mayor, and William Fleetwood, Recorder.

'Wheareas heartofore sondrye greate disorders and inconvenyences have benne found to ensewe to this Cittie by the inordynate hauntynge of greate multitudes of people, speciallye youthe, to playes, enterludes and shewes; namelye occasyon of frayes and quarrelles, eavell practizes of incontinencye in greate Innes, havinge chambers and secrete places adjoyninge to their open stagies and gallyries, inveyglynge and allewrynge of maides, speciallye orphanes, and good cityzens children under age, to previe and unmete contractes, the publishinge of unchaste, uncomelye, and unshamefaste speeches and doynges, withdrawinge of the Quenes Majesties subjectes from dyvyne service on Soundaies & holydaies, at which tymes such playes weare chefelye used, unthriftye waste of the moneye of the poore & fond persons, sondrye robberies by pyckinge and cuttinge of purses, utteringe of popular, busye and sedycious matters, and manie other corruptions of youthe, and other enormyties; besydes that allso soundrye slaughters and mayeminges of the Quenes Subjectes have happened by ruines of Skaffoldes, fframes and Stages, and by engynes, weapons and powder used in plaies. And whear

players at any period obtained a positive, and an unresisted settlement within the bounds of the authority of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and shortly after Dec. 1575, we meet

in tyme of Goddes visitacion by the plaigue suche assemblies of the people, in thronge and presse, have beene verye daungerous for spreadinge of Infection; and for the same, and other greate cawses, by the authoritie of the honorable ld. maiors of this Cyttie and thaldermen their brethern, and speciallye vppon the severe and earneste admonition of the Ls. of the moste honorable Councell, wth signifyenge of her Maties expresse pleasure and comaundemente in that behalfe, suche vse of playes, interludes, and shewes hathe beene duringe this tyme of syckenes forbydden and restrayned. And for that the lorde Maior and his bretheren thaldermen, together wth the grave and discrete Citizens in the Comen Councell assemblyd, doo doughte and feare leaste vppon Goddes mercyfull wthdrawinge his hand of syckenes from vs (wch God graunte) the people, speciallye the meaner and moste vnrewlye sorte, should, wth sodayne forgettinge of his visytacion, wthowte feare of goddes wrathe, and wthowte deowe respecte of the good and politique meanes, that he hathe ordeyned for the preservacon of comen weales and peoples in healthe and good order, retourne to the vndewe vse of suche enormyties, to the greate offence of God, the Queenes maties comaundements and good governañce. Nowe therefore to the intent that suche perilles maie be avoyded, and the lawfull, honest and comelye vse of plaies, pastymes, and recreacons in good sorte onelye pmitted, and good pvision hadd for the saiftie and well orderynge of the people thear assemblydd: Be yt enacted by the Authoritie of this Comen Counsell, that from henceforthe no playe, comodye, tragidie, enterlude, nor publycke shewe shalbe openlye played or shewed wthin the liberties of the Cittie, whearin shalbe vttered anie wourdes, examples, or doynges of anie vnchastitie, sedicion, nor suche lyke vnfytt, and vncomelye matter, vppon paine of imprisonment by the space of xiiijten daies of all psons offendinge in anie suche open playinge, or shewinges, and vli. for evrie suche offence. And that no Inkeper, Tavernkeper, nor other pson whatsoevr, wthin the liberties of thys Cittie, shall openlye shewe, or playe, nor cawse or suffer to be openlye shewed or played wthin the hous yarde or anie other place wthin the liberties of this Cyttie, anie playe, enterlude, comodye, tragidie, matter, or shewe wch shall not be firste perused, and allowed in suche order and fourme, and by suche psons as by the Lorde Maior and courte of Aldermen for

with a set of printed 'Orders, appointed to be executed in the Cittie of London', one of which refers directly to the matter at issue, and looks as if the perseverance of the authorities

the tyme being shalbe appoynted, nor shalle suffer to be enterlaced, added, mynglydd, or vttered in anie suche playe, enterlude, comodye, tragidie or shewe, anie other matter then suche as shalbe firste perused and allowed, as ys abovesaid. And that no pson shall suffer anie plays, enterludes, comodyes, tragidies, or shewes to be played or shewed in his hous, yarde, or other place, wheareof he then shall have rule or power, but onelye suche psons, and in suche places, as upon good and reasonable consideracions shewed, shalbe thearvnto permitted and allowed by the lord maior and Aldermen for the tyme being: neither shall take or vse anie benifitt, or advantage of suche permission or allowaunces, before or vntill suche pson be bound to the Chamberlaine of London for the tyme beinge wth suche suerties, and in suche Sume, and suche fourme for the keepinge of good order, and avoydinge of the discordes and inconvenyences abovesaid, as by the Lorde Maior and Courte of Aldermen for the tyme beinge shall seeme convenyent; neither shall vse or execute anie suche lycence, or permission at or in anie tymes in wch the same for anie reasonable consideracon of sycknes or otherwise, shalbe by the lorde Maior and aldermen, by publique pclamacion or by pcept to suche psons, restrayned or comaunded to staye and cease; nor in anie vsuall tyme of Dyvyne Service in the soundaie or hollydaie; nor receyve anie to that purpose in tyme of Service to se the same, apon payne to forfecte for evrie offence vli. And be yt enacted, that evrie pson so to be lycensed or pmitted shall during the tyme of suche contynuaunce of suche lycens or pmission, paye or cawse to be paid, to the vse of the poore in hospitalles of the Cyttie, or of the poore of the Cyttie visyted wth sycknes, by the dyscretion of the said lorde Maior and Aldermen, suche somes and paymentes, and in suche forme as between the lord Maior and Aldermen for the tyme beinge, on th'onne partie, and suche pson so to be lycensed or pmitted, on thother partie, shalbe agreed, upon payne that in waunte of everie suche paymente, or if suche pson shall not firste be bound with good suerties to the Chamberlayne of London for the tyme beinge for the trewe payment of such Somes to the poore, that then everye suche lycence or pmission shalbe vtterlye voide, and everie doinge by force or cullor of suche lycence or pmission, shalbe adjudged an offence againste this acte in suche manner as if no suche lycence or pmission hadd benne

there, in their violent hostility to plays and players, had, for a time at least, been successful. One of them is in the following terms :—

'For as much as the playing of enterludes, and the resort to the same, are very daungerous for the infection of the plague, wherby infinite burdens and losses to the Citty may increase, and are very hurtfull in corruption of youth with incontinence and lewdnes; and also great wasting both of the time and thrift of many poore people, and great provoking of the wrath of God, the ground of all plagues, great withdrawing of the people from publique prayer, and from the service of God, and daily cried out against by the preachers of the Word of God ; therefore it is ordered, that all such enterludes in

---

hadd, nor made, aine suche lycence or pmission to the contrarye notwthstandinge. And be yt lykewise enacted, that all somes and forfeytures to be incurrydd for anie offence against this Acte, and all forfeytures of bondes to be taken by force, meane, or occasyon of this Acte, shalbe ymployed to the reliefe of the poore in the hospitalles of this Cittie, or the poore infected or diseased in this Cittie of London, as the Lorde Maior and Courte of Aldermen for the tyme beinge shall adjudge meete to be distributed: and that the Chamberlayne of London shall have and recover the same to the purpozies aforesaid by Bill, Plainte, Acion of debt, or ynformacon to be comenced and pursewed in his owne name in the Courte of the vtter Chamber of the Guildhall of London, called the Maiors Courte: in wch sute no essoine nor wager of law for the Defendaunte shalbe admittyd or allowed. Provydid allwaie that this Acte (otherwise then touchinge the publishing of unchaste, sedycious, and vnmete matters) shall not extend to anie plaies, Enterludes, Comodies, Tragidies, or shewes to be played or shewed in the pryvate hous, dwellinge, or lodginge of anie nobleman, citizen, or gentleman, wch shall or will then have the same thear so played or shewed in his presence, for the festyvitie of anie marriage, assemblye of ffrendes, or otherlyke cawse, wthowte publique or comen collection of money of the auditorie, or behoulders theareof; referringe alwaie to the Lorde Maior and Aldermen for the time beinge the Judgement, and construction accordinge to equitie, what shalbe counted such a playenge or shewing in a pryvate place, anie thinge in this Acte to the contrarie notwthstanding.'

publique places, and the resort to the same, shall wholy be prohibited as ungodly; and humble sute made to the Lords, that lyke prohibition be in places neere unto the Cittie."[1]

This order is in the very spirit of the 'Act of Common Council', and almost follows it in some of its terms: it treats the matter as if the Lords of the Privy Council had no power to interfere with the regulations of the City, and as if the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had a right to call upon their Lordships to second their views by abolishing plays in the suburbs.

The same volume of MSS. which gives the 'Act of Common Council' of 1575,[2] also contains a petition from the Queen's Players to the Privy Council, indorsed with the date of the same year: it was, doubtless, presented in that year, and has immediate reference to the refusal of the Lord Mayor to allow actors to perform within the City. It appears, on the same authority, that the Justices of Middlesex had also interposed with a similar view, as respected places within their jurisdiction. The petition, which we subjoin, and an extract only from which is given by Strype, makes mention of certain 'articles' which accompanied it, which are now unfortunately wanting:—

'To the Right Honorable the Lordes of her Maties Privie Counsell.

'In most humble manner beseche yor Lls yor dutifull and daylie Orators the Queenes Maties poore Players. Whereas the tyme of our service draweth verie neere, so that of necessitie wee must needes have exercise to enable us the better for the same, and also for our better helpe and relief in our poore lyvinge, the ceason of the yere

---

[1] From 'Orders appointed to be executed in the Cittie of London for setting rogues and idle persons to worke, and for the releefe of the poore.' At London, printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Smith fielde at the signe of the Golden Tunne.' n. d.

[2] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 20.

beynge past to playe att anye of the houses w^th^out the Cittye of London[1], as in our articles annexed to this our Supplicacion maye more att large appeere unto yo^r^ Lls. Our most humble peticion ys, thatt yt maye please yo^r^ Lls. to vouchsaffe the readinge of these few Articles, and in tender consideracion of the matters therein mentioned, contayninge the verie staye and good state of our lyvinge, to graunt unto us the confirmacion of the same, or of as many, or as much of them as shalbe to yo^r^ honors good lykinge. And therw^th^all yo^r^ Lls. favorable letters unto the L. Mayor of London to p'mitt us to exercise w^th^in the Cittye, accordinge to the Articles; and also thatt the said l'res maye containe some order to the Justices of Midd'x, as in the same ys mentioned, wherbie, as wee shall cease the continewall troublinge of yo^r^ Lls. for yo^r^ often l'res in the premisses, so shall wee daylie be bownden to praye for the prosperous preservation of yo^r^ Lls. in honor, helth, and happines long to continew.

'Yo^r^ Ll^s^ humblie bownden and daylie Orators,

'HER MA^TIES^ POOR PLAYERS.'[2]

It is to be concluded that the Privy Council, out of respect, perhaps, to the city authorities, sent them a copy of this petition, and of its accompanying Articles; and to the former is subjoined, in the *Lansdowne MS.*, a paper in which each point advanced is treated and answered *seriatim:* it is only a matter of inference, founded upon internal evidence, that this reply

[1] Hence we may decide that this petition, which is without date, was sent to the Privy Council on the approach of winter; the Queen's players having contented themselves, during the summer and autumn, with performing in the neighbourhood of London, or in the provinces.

[2] No signatures are appended, and it is not easy to determine who were meant in 1575 by 'her Majesties poore Players': perhaps the Earl of Leicester's servants might so call themselves after the grant of the patent in May 1574. There was no company known as 'the Queen's Players' until afterwards. It is possible, that the persons who signed this petition were the Queen's 'Players of Interludes', a company, as we have seen, retained at Court from the reign of Henry VII, and augmented by his successor from four to eight performers.

emanated from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen ; and, if so, it is not unlikely that it was drawn up by Recorder Fleetwood : it very well merits insertion, especially as it has not been before printed.

'Now touching their Petition and Articles.

'Where they pretend, that they must have exercise to enable them in their service before her Majestie.

'It is to be noted, that it is not convenient, that they present before her Ma^tie^ such playes as have ben before commonly played in open stages before all the basest assemblies in London and Midd'x ; and therefore sufficient for their exercise, and more comely for the place, that (as it is permitted by the sayd lawes of common counsell) they make their exercise of playeng only in private houses.

'Also, it lyeth within the dutiefull care for her Majestie's royal persone, that they be not suffred, from playeng in the throng of a multitude, and of some infected, to presse so nere to the presence of her Ma^tie^.

'Where they pretend the matter of stay of their lyving.

'It hath not ben used, nor thought meete heretofore, that players have, or should make their lyving on the art of playeng ; but men for their lyvings using other honest and lawfull artes, or reteyned in honest services, have by companies learned some interludes, for some encrease to their profit by other mens pleasures in vacant time of recreation.

'Where, in the first article, they require the Lord Maior's order to continue for the times of playeng on hollydaies,

'They misreport the order, for all those former orders of toleration are expired by the last printed act of Common Counsell.

'Also, if the toleration were not expired, they do cautelously omitt the prohibition to receive any auditories before common prayer be ended. And it may be noted, how vncomely it is for youth to runne streight from prayer to playes, from Gods service to the devells.

'To their second article.

'If in winter the dark do cary inconvenience, and the short time of

day after evening prayer do leave them no leysure, and fowleness of season do hinder the passage into the feldes to playes, the remedie is ill conceyved to bring them into London : but the true remedie is to leave of that unnecessarie expense of time, wherunto God himself geveth so many impediments.

'To the third.

'To play in plagetime is to increase the plage by infection : to play out of plagetime is to draw the plage by offendinge of God vpon occasion of such playes.

'But touching the permission of playes vpon the fewnesse of those that dye in any weke, it may please you to remember one special thing. In the report of the plage we report only those that dye, and we make no report of those that recover, and cary infection about them, either in their sores running, or in their garments, which sort are the most dangerous. Now, my lord, when the number of those that dye groweth fewest, the number of those that goe abrode with sores is greatest, the violence of the disease to kill being abated. And therfore while any plage is, though the number reported of them that dye be small, the number infectious is so great, that playes are not to be permitted.

'Also, in our report none are noted as dyeng of the plage except they have tokens ; but many dye of the plage that have no tokens ; and sometime fraude of the searchers may deceive. Therefore it is not reason to reduce their toleration to any number reported to dye of the plage ; but it is an uncharitable demaund against the safetie of the Quenes subjects, and per consequens of her person, for the gaine of a few, whoe if they were not her Ma^{ties} servaunts should by their profession be rogues, to esteme fifty a weke so small a number as to be cause of tolerating the adventure of infection.

'If your Lordships shal think resonable to permit them in respect of the fewnesse of such as dye, this were a better way. The ordinarie deaths in London when there is no plage, is betwene xl. and l. and commonly under xl., as our bokes do shew : the residue, or more in plage time, is to be thought to be the plage : now, it may be enough if it be permitted, that when the whole death of all diseases in

London shal, by ii or iij wekes together, be under l. a weke, they may play (*observatis alioqui observandis*) during such time of death vnder l. a weke.

'Where they require, that only her Ma^ties servants be permitted to play.

'It is lesse evell than to graunt moe. But herin, if your Lordships will so allow them, it may please yow to know, that the last yere, when such toleration was of the Quenes players only, all the places of playeng were filled with men calling themselves the Queenes players. Your Lordships may do well, in your lettres or warrants for their toleration, to expresse the number of the Quenes players, and particularly all their names.'

These observations upon the articles of the Players were succeeded, perhaps in the next year, by the proposal of certain 'Remedies', founded upon the observations and upon the 'Act of Common Council.' Strype, in his edition of *Stow's Survey*, inserts them, as if they had been the regulations established by the Privy Council, in consequence of the remonstrances of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London; but this is a mistake: they were proposed by the Lord Mayor and Corporation to the Privy Council, and probably without success.[1]

A. D. 1576.

[1] The remedies were certainly not sanctioned by the Privy Council, although they might for some time acquiesce in the wishes of the Corporation so strongly expressed. What occurred in the interval we are without the means of knowing; but on the 24th Dec. 1578, we find by the *Council Register* (as quoted by Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 373), their Lordships, in a letter to the Lord Mayor, requiring him 'to suffer the Children of her Majesty's Chapel, the servants of the Lord Chamberlain, of the Earl of Warwick, of the Earl of Leicester, of the Earl of Essex, and the Children of Pauls, and no company else, to exercise plays within the city'; and it is added that those companies are so to be allowed, 'by reason that they are appointed to play this Christmas before her Majesty.' No mention is made of the Queen's players, which may confirm the supposition before hazarded, that the servants of Lord Leicester might be sometimes so called.

'The Remedies.

'That they hold them content with playeng in private houses at weddings, &c., without publike assemblies.

'If more be thought good to be tolerated, that then they be restrained to the orders in the act of common Counsel, *tempore* Hawes.

'That they play not openly till the whole death in London haue ben by xx daies vnder 50 a weke, nor longer than it shal so continue.

'That no playes be on the Sabbat.[1]

'That no playeng be on holydaies, but after evening prayer, nor any received into the auditorie till after evening prayer.

'That no playeng be in the dark, nor continue any such time but as any of the auditorie may returne to their dwellings in London before sonne set, or at least before it be dark.

'That the Quenes players only be tolerated, and of them their number, and certaine names to be notified in your Ll^ps^ lettres to the L. Maior and to the Justices of Midd'x and Surrey. And those her players not to divide themselves into several companies.

'That for breaking any of these orders their toleration cease.'

These proceedings in the years 1575 and 1576 led to an important result, not foreseen by the sagacity of the city authorities—*the construction of at least three places set apart for dramatic representations*. One of these was a theatre in the

[1] That plays were constantly performed on the Sabbath in 1578 is evident from the following passage in Stockwood's sermon of that date, where he says—

'If you resorte to the Theatre, the Curtayne and other places of Playes in the Citye, you shall on the Lordes day haue these places so full as possibly they can throng.'

He goes on afterwards to mention a singular circumstance.

'Insomuche that in some places they shame not, in the tyme of divine Service, to come and dance about the Churche, and without to have *naked men dauncing in nettes*, which is most filthie; for the heathen that neuer had further knowledge then the light of nature, haue counted it shameful for a Player to come on the stage without a slop.'

Liberty of the Blackfriars, which Malone truly calls 'one of the most ancient English play-houses', although he was without the means of ascertaining the date at which it was originally built, or of supplying any particulars regarding it.[1] A document in the State Paper Office enables us to give the period of its construction, the cause which immediately led to it, and the name of the chief person by whom it was undertaken.

The orders of the Common Council of 1575 drove the players, at least for a time, from places within the jurisdiction of the city authorities, and without delay they sought a situation beyond that jurisdiction, but at the same time as near as possible to its boundaries. For this purpose they fixed upon the Precinct of the dissolved monastery of the Blackfriars, and here James Burbage (the father of Richard Burbage, the great tragedian in Shakespeare's Plays, who, with others, obtained the licence of 1574, already inserted) bought certain rooms near the houses, at that time, occupied by the Earl of

A. D. 1576. Sussex, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Hunsdon, who succeeded him in that office: these rooms Burbage converted into a play-house; and while he was in the act of making the alterations, a petition to the Privy Council was prepared by certain of the inhabitants, praying that he might not be allowed to proceed in his enterprise.[2] It was signed by the dowager Lady Elizabeth Russel, by Lord

[1] Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 52.

[2] It appears that James Burbadge, the father of the famous Richard, had obtained 400*l.* from his father-in-law, a person of the name of Brayne, for the purpose of buying the freehold which, in fact, he had obtained in 1574, and of which he could not be dispossessed. James Burbadge was himself an actor of some eminence, and had come from Warwickshire: he was also father of Cuthbert Burbadge, who ultimately took up the business of a bookseller, though his name is sometimes misspelt Burby, as it stands on the title-page of *King Edward the Third*, 1596, perhaps Shakespeare's earliest play, but published anonymously.

Hunsdon, and by twenty-eight other inhabitants of the Liberty of Blackfriars, and it set out the particulars above given in the following form.

'To the Right Honble the Lords and others of her Maties most honble privy Councell.

'Humbly shewing and beseeching your Honours, the Inhabitants of the Precinct of the Blackfryers London. That whereas one Burbage hath lately bought certain roomes in the same Precinct, neere adjoining unto the dwelling houses of the right honble the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Lord of Hunsdon; which Roomes the said Burbage is now altering, and meaneth very shortly to convert, and turn the same into a common Playhouse: which will grow to the very great annoyance and trouble, not onely to all the Noblemen and Gentlemen thereabout inhabiting, but also a general inconvenience to all the inhabitants of the same Precinct, both by reason of the great resort, and gathering together of all manner of vagrant and lewde persons, that under cullor of resorting to the Playes, will come thither and worke all manner of mischiefe, and also to the great pestring and filling up of the same Precinct, if it should please God to send any visitation of sicknesse, as heretofore hath beene; for that the same Precinct is already grown very populous. And besides that the same Playhouse is so neere the Church, that the noyse of the drummes & trumpetts will greatly disturbe and hinder both the Minister and the Parishioners in tyme of divine service & sermons. In tender consideration whereof, as also for there hath not, at any tyme heretofore, been used any Common Playhouse within the same Precinct; but that now all Players being banished by the Lord Maior from playing within the Cittie, by reason of the great inconvenience and ill rule that followeth them, they now thinke to plant themselves in the Liberties. That therefore it would please your Honours to take order, that the same roomes may be converted to some other use, and that no Playhouse may be used or kept there. And your suppliants, as most bounden, shall and will dayly pray for your Lordships in all honor and happiness long to live.'

The name of the Lord Chamberlain for the time being was not subscribed to the petition; and from this circumstance we are perhaps warranted in inferring, that he did not approve of its prayer, and did not object to the near vicinity of Burbage's new playhouse to his dwelling. Certain it is, that the representation was of no avail for the purpose for which it was made, because the Blackfriars Theatre was constructed, and many important points of stage history, and the drama, at subsequent periods are connected with it.

In this year also, we apprehend, 'the Theatre', another place appropriated to dramatic exhibitions, was opened in Shoreditch: the Curtain, a similar building, was also erected in the immediate vicinity of the 'Theatre' about the same period.[1] They were both, like the Blackfriars playhouse,

[1] It is mentioned in 1577 as then open to the public: the particulars that have been collected regarding these edifices will be found in a subsequent part of this work. Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 53) quotes a sermon by John Stockwood, dated 1578, respecting the Theatre and Curtain; and we have before us a singular production of the same class:—'A Sermon preached at Pawles Crosse on Sunday the ninth of December 1576' (two years earlier than Malone's authority, and at the close of the very year in which the Blackfriars Playhouse, the Theatre, and the Curtain, had been erected), which, though it does not specify any of them by name, speaks of the 'sumptuous theatre houses', then open for the reception and entertainment of the public. The author of the sermon only puts his initials, T. W., upon the title-page: it is in 12mo, and was printed by Francis Coldock, two years after it was delivered. The preacher is attacking with great violence the vices reigning in the City of London; and the whole passage is curious, not merely because it proves the commonness of dramatic exhibitions in 1576:—

'Assuredly we come nothing neere the Jewes in this pointe, for on oure Sabbothes all manner of games and playes, banketings and surfettings, are very rife. If anye manne have any businesse in the world, Sonday is counted an idle daye; if he have none, then it is bestowed in other pleasure. *Trahit sua quenque voluptas*—every man followeth his owne fansie. And the wealthiest citizens have houses for the nonce: they that

beyond the limits of the authority of the city magistrates; and no doubt owed their origin to the measures taken by the Lord Mayor and Corporation against players in 1574 and 1575.

have none make shift with Alehouses, Tavernes and Innes, some rowing on the water, some roving in the field, some idle at home, some worse occupied: thus what you get evilly all the weeke is worst spente on the Sabboth day, according to the proverbe—ill gotten ill spent. Blame not your servantes if they follow your example, for your prodigalitie makes them unthriftie. But what accompt? how answer you? is this the Lorde's daye or no? if it be, how intollerable, nay, how accursed and most condemnable are these outragious Bacchanalia, Lupanaria—I cannot tell what to call them—such as heathen men were ever ashamed of (I am sure) and therefore practised better maters, although prophane exercises: but ours savors so of Venus court and Bacchus kitchin, that it may rightly be intituled an abhominable and filthie Citie: and without doubte London shall justifie her elder sister Hierusalem, if in time she turne not to the Lorde. I say nothing of divers other abuses, whych do carie away thousands, & drowne them in the pernicious vanities of the worlde. *Looke but upon the common playes in London, and see the multitude that flocketh to them and followeth them: beholde the sumptuous Theatre houses, a continuall monument of London's prodigalitie and folly.* But I understande they are now furbidden bycause of the plague: I like the pollicye well, if it holde still, for a disease is but bodged, or patched up, that is not cured in the cause; and the cause of plagues is sinne, if you looke to it well; and the cause of sinne are playes: therefore the cause of plagues are playes. *Quicquid est causa causæ est causa causati.* Shall I reckon up the monstrous birds that brede in this nest? without doubt I am ashamed, and I should surely offende your chaste ears: but the olde worlde is matched, and Sodome overcome; for more horrible enormities, and swelling sins, are set out by those Stages than every man thinks for, or some would believe, if I shold paint them out in their colours * * * Wherefore if thou be a father, thou losest thy child; if thou be a maister thou losest thy servaunt; and thou be what thou canst be, thou losest thy selfe that hauntest those scholes of vice, dennes of theeves, and Theatres of all leudnesse: and if it be not suppressed in time, it will make such a Tragedie, that all London may well mourne whyle it is London.'

These transactions are referred to, not without humour, in an old satirical epigram, which has been preserved in MS., and which it would, of course, have been perilous then to have printed. It was copied on the fly-leaf of a book, published a few years before the expulsion of the actors from the City into the Liberties. It is entitled,

'The Fooles of the Cittie.

'List unto my dittye,
Alas! the more the pittye,
From Troynovaunts olde cittie
The Aldermen and Maier
Have drivn eche poore plaier:
The cause I will declaer.
They wiselye doe complaine
Of Wilson and Jacke Lane,
And them who doe maintaine;
And stablishe as a rule
Not one shall play the foole
But they—a worthye scoole.
Without a pipe and taber,
They onely meane to laber
To teche eche oxe-hed neyber.
This is the cause and reason,
At every tyme and season,
That Playes are worse then treason.'

Robert Wilson is mentioned in the licence to Lord Leicester's players, 1574; and Jack Lane may either be a different performer, or John Laneham or Langham, with his name abridged for the sake of the rhyme.[1]

[1] We may here mention that in 1576, according to the Bristol Records, the Players of the Lord Chamberlain were performing there a drama of which we hear on no other authority: it was called *The Red Knight*, and 'the press of people was so great on the occasion, that two iron rings in

Although the Queen's government was not disposed at this period to check the performance of plays in London and its neighbourhood, it seems to have looked with a jealous eye at the intrusion of such representations into the Universities and their vicinity. On the 30th of October, 1575, the Privy Council wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, mentioning that they had received information 'of some attempts of light and decayed persons, who for filthy lucre are mynded, and do seeke now a daies to devise, and to set up in open places, shews of unlawfull, hurtfull, pernicious and unhonest games', near to Cambridge; and therefore requiring the Vice-Chancellor, and all justices of the peace, whether by commission or charter, not to suffer any such exhibitions, either in the town of Cambridge or within five miles round it. As reasons for putting a stop to them, it is urged that the youth of the University will 'thereby be entyced from their ordinary places of learning', and that the then prevalent infection of the plague may be carried into the University, as it had been on a former occasion. It is not stated that these 'shews' and 'games' were *plays*; and probably had they been so, some more definite term would have been employed in the letter.[1]

the Guildhall were broken'. *The Red Knight* was performed a second time on the 29th July, but no accident occurred, though the crowd was greater. Under the date of 1578, we find mention at Bristol of the performance of other dramas the titles of which do not occur elsewhere: they were *Myngo*, *What Mischief worketh in the Mind of Man*, *The Queene of Ethiopia*, and *The Court of Comfort*.

[1] It is in the Lansdowne Collection of MSS., No. 71. On the 20th of January 1579, the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge wrote to Lord Burghley, stating that John Blenkinsop, 'Master of Defence, and servant to the Right Hon. Lord Wharton', had challenged, at six several weapons, John Goodwyn, 'likewise Master of Defence and servant to the Right Hon. Lord Northe, high steward of this town of Cambridge'. The letter proceeds to state, that Goodwyn was 'no common fencer', but one

In all the proceedings regarding plays and players about this date, there is every reason to believe the Earl of Leicester interested himself, and took an active part for the encouragement of theatrical amusements. In 1577, Sir Jerome Bowes seems to have had some project on foot regarding dramatic performances, the nature of which is not explained in any extant document: to accomplish what he wished, he made suit to the Queen, who referred the matter to the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Leicester, and Lord Burghley; and among the papers of the latter, in the British Museum, is a very hastily scribbled letter from Lord Leicester on this subject, putting Lord Burghley in mind of the reference, but discountenancing the scheme of Sir Jerome Bowes.[1]

A. D. 1577.

In July, 1575, the Queen had paid her celebrated visit to the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle, where she was entertained by a Mask, and a variety of shews, and represen-

of the Common Council of the town, 'of good credit, and a man of good welthe, quyet, and honest conversation'. The Corporation were afraid that the public peace might be disturbed, and therefore prayed, that the trial might take place in presence of the Queen or some of her Council, that all disorder might be avoided, which commonly followed such exercises. (*Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 29.)

[1] The following is a copy of the letter from the *Lansdowne MSS.*; but we have accidentally omitted to note the particular reference:—

'My good L[ord],

'I am required to put you in remembrance, for that Sir Jerom Bowes *saies* that your L[ordship] hath partely forgotten that it was her Majesty's pleasure, that your L[ordship] my L[ord] Chamberleyn and I should conferr and consider of the sute touching *playes*, to be granted to him and certeyn others, whom with her Majesty's pleasure I brought to your L[ordship] and my L[ord] Chamberleyn, being together in the Prevey Chamber at Hampton Court: and I remember at that time we, talking of it, myslyked of the permission they sutors desierd; and this also my L[ord] Chamberleyn himself will well remember. Thus much I thought good at his request to remember to your L[ordship], that yt is

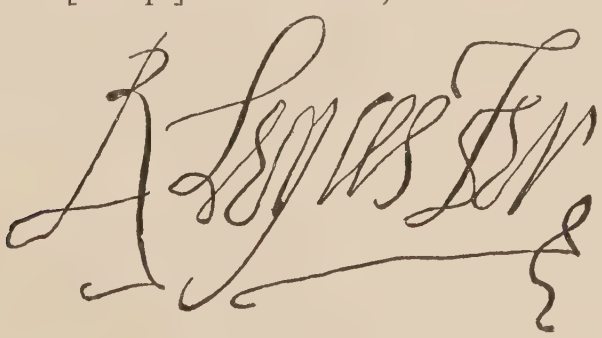
tations emblematical and allegorical. Among other amusements, the play of *Hock Tuesday*, commemorating the victory over the Danes, A.D. 1002, was exhibited by Captain Cox and many others from Coventry ; but it seems to have been merely a dumb shew. Two accounts of the proceedings upon this occasion are extant—one by George Gascoigne, who was the author of the Mask and of various speeches ; and the other by Robert Laneham, or Langham, a retainer of the Earl of Leicester, and who, probably, was in some way related to the player of the same surname, who was one of that nobleman's theatrical servants in 1574.

It is necessary now to revert to the Revels, and to the progress of theatrical amusements at court, under the superintendence of Blagrave, as deputy to Sir Thomas Benger, the Master of the Revels.

The total charge of the Revels, as far as that department was concerned, in the year from 28th of February 1573-4, to 28th of February 1574-5, was 582*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* No regular list is furnished, in the account in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest, of the plays performed in the course of this year, but the names of several are to be gathered from the different

very trew that her Majesty did referr the consideration of the sute to us, and to make report thereof accordingly. So I will take leave, and wish your L[ordship] perfect health. This viij of April [1577].

'Your Lo[rdships] assured friend,



items. At Christmas the Lord Chamberlain's servants performed two pieces, called *The History of Phædrastus* and *Phigon and Lucia*,[1] while Lord Leicester's players 'shewed their matter of *Panecea*', and Lord Clinton's players 'a matter called *Pretestus*'. A company of 'Italian Players', one of whom was evidently a tumbler or vaulter, attended the Queen in her progress, and performed at Windsor. We are also told of the sister of King Xerxes, in Farrant's play, Farrant being then Master of the children of Windsor; of Vanity in 'Sebastians Play', Sebastian Westcott being Master of the Children of Paul's; of 'Duttons Play', Dutton being at the head of Lord Warwick's servants; and of 'Lord Leicester's boys', as distinguished from Lord Leicester's men, for he had then a junior, as well as a senior company. The children of the chapel, under William Hunnis,[2] were in attendance on New-

[1] This is most likely the same piece that, in the account of the Revels of the preceding year, we have seen named *Pedor and Lucia:* perhaps neither was the correct title of the play.

[2] Hunnis was concerned in the entertainment of the Queen at Kenilworth, and was the author of interludes, which were, no doubt, acted by the boys under his government: he has hitherto been known only as the author of various poems, and translations of the Psalms; but that he wrote dramatic pieces is evident from the following lines in his praise, prefixed by Thomas Newton to Hunnis's *Hive Full of Honey*, 1578:—

'In pryme of youth thy pleasaunt penne depaincted sonets sweete,
Delyghtful to the greedy eare, for youthfull humour meete:
Therein appeerde thy pregnaunt wit, & store of fyled phrase,
Enough t'astonne the doltish drone, & lumpish loute amaze.
Thy *Enterludes*, thy gallaunt layes, thy rondletts & thy songes,
Thy Nosegay & thy Widowes Myte, with that therto belonges,
With other fancies of thy forge,' etc.

The earliest known edition of *The poore Widowes Mite* is dated 1585, but it was, doubtless, printed before 1578, or Newton would not have mentioned it. The *Nosegay* was, most probably, the *Handfull of Honisuckles*, which was licensed to Thomas Dawson in 1578, and long continued highly popular.

year's-day, but nothing is said of the nature of their performances: they might be only musical.

Several masks were also exhibited — of Shepherds, of Pedlars, and of Pilgrims—for which various properties were furnished ; Walter Fyshe[1] supplying 'woolverings for pedlars' caps', bottles for Pilgrims, and procuring by hire a mariner's whistle. The 'scythe for Saturn', also mentioned, would seem part of the furniture of a mask.

Among the other properties, we meet with the subsequent articles : 'three divells cotes and heads'—'dishes for divells eyes ; heaven, hell, and the devell and all, I should saie, but not all';[2]—'long poles and brushes for chymney sweepers in my L. of Leicester's men's play',—'a cote a hatt and buskins all covered with fethers of cullers for Vanytie in Sebastian's play',—'a perriwigg of heare for King Xerxces syster', and the usual item of houses for players.

The account of the Revels in 1576-7 (also in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest, to which Malone had access) furnishes the following list of nine plays acted before Elizabeth:

'*The Paynter's Daughter*, showen at Hampton Court on S. Stevens daie at night ; enacted by th'erle of Warwick's servants.

'*Toolie*, showen at Hampton Court on St. John's daie at night ; enacted by the L. Howard's servants.

'*The Historie of the Collyer*, showen at Hampton Court on the Sundaie following ; enacted by th'erle of Leicester's men.

---

[1] On the 19th of January 1574, Walter Fyshe was appointed, by Privy Seal extant in the Chapter-house, Westminster, 'Yoman or keeper of our vestures, or apparell, of all and singular our Maskes, Revells, and Disguysings ; and also of the apparell and trappers of all & singular our horses ordeyned and appointed &c. for our Justs and Turnies.'

[2] This seems to be a touch of humour on the part of Blagrave (who, probably, superintended the preparation of the account) in ridicule of the *diablerie* in these entertainments. We never hear of him out of his department.

'*The Historie of Error*, showen at Hampton Court on Newyere's-daie at night; enacted by the children of Powles.

'*The Historie of Mutius Scevola*, showen at Hampton Court on Twelf daie at night; enacted by the Children of Wyndsor, and the Chappell.

'*The Historie of the Cenofals*, showen at Hampton Court on Candlemas daie at night; enacted by the L. Chamberleyn his men.

'*The Historie of the Solitarie Knight*, showen at Whitehall on Shrove Sundaie at night; enacted by the L. Howarde's servaunts.

'*The Irishe Knighte*, showen at Whitehall on Shrove Mundaie at night; enacted by the Earle of Warwick his servaunts.

'*The Historie of Titus and Gisippus*, showen at Whitehall on Shrove Tuysdaie at night; enacted by the children of Powles.'

A tenth play, called *Cutwell*, for which a counterfeit well was carried from 'the Bell in Gracious streete', where, perhaps, the piece had been originally publicly acted, is also mentioned; but it was not represented. Only one mask was performed on Twelfth night, 'with a device of 7 speeches framed correspondent to the daie'.

The properties contain nothing very remarkable beyond 'six feltes for a Cenofalles heade', and 'a houndes heade mowlded for a Cenofall'.[1] We also read of 'a painted cloth and two frames', and of 'two formes for the Senators in the *Historie of Titus and Gisuppus*'.[2]

In 1578, the Queen made a progress into Norfolk and Suffolk; and at Norwich, besides various pageants and

[1] Boswell has added a note, in which he observes, that 'the Cynocephali were a nation of India, having the head of a dog'; and he aptly quotes Holland's *Pliny*, and Bulwer's *Artificial Changeling*, p. 17.

[2] *The most wonderful and pleasaunt History of Titus and Gisippus* had been told in verse by Edward Lewicke as early as 1562, the author founding himself upon the narrative of Sir Thomas Eliot, in his *Governor*, 1534. The play acted by the Children of Paul's was, doubtless, constructed out of these materials.

shews, she was presented with a Mask written by Henry Goldingham :[1] Thomas Churchyard also contributed to the entertainments by 'sundry devices', in which, however, there was nothing dramatic. A Latin oration was delivered by Stephen Limbert, who calls himself *Ludimagister publicus*, and who, at that date, was Master of the grammar school at Norwich.[2] A. D. 1578.

A change took place in the office of the Revels between December 1578, and July 1579. On the 13th of December 1578, a Privy Seal had been granted to Thomas Blagrave, Esq., appointing him 'chief officer' (not Master) of the Revels'. Although we have not been able to discover it among the Privy Seals at the Chapter-house, Westminster, there is no doubt of the fact, as it is stated in 'A brief Declaration' from the office of the Revels, including the expenses of that department from 14th of February 1578, to the 31st of October 1579.[3] Sir Thomas Benger, for whom Blagrave acted from 1573 to 1577, died in March of the latter year, and the place of the Master of the Revels was not filled up until Blagrave was appointed 'chief officer' in December 1578. The same

[1] He was a noted poet of the day, and had inscribed to the Queen various productions. In *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, 4to, 1595 and 1614, the following anecdote is told of him:—One, Henry Goldingham, that had long sued to her Majestie for her signet to his graunted suite, and her Majestie still saying that she had no pen and inke at hand to doe it, at last he humbled his bill to her highness' foote and said, 'May it then please your Majestie but to step your royall foote hereupon, and my selfe will then warrant it for good. Her Majestie so well liked of such a merrie conceipt, that presently, calling for pen and inke, did deign to signe it,' p. 50. Goldingham is, of course, not to be confounded with Golding, who wrote voluminously at about the same period.

[2] Nichols's *Prog. Eliz.*, ii, 133, etc.

[3] It is in the British Museum; but we have mislaid the reference to the particular MS. The fact of Blagrave having been Master of the Revels was unknown to Malone and Chalmers.

'brief Declaration' recites, that Edmund Tylney, Esq., had been then recently named Master of the Revels:[1] and an account of the charges of the Revels, from Christmas 1578, to November 1579 mentions, that from July in the latter year, Tylney, by virtue of the Queen's letter patent, had taken upon himself the Mastership of the Revels: the precise day of his appointment was the 24th of July 1579, and it is

[1] From the subsequent undated letter from a person named William Bowll to Lord Burghley, it appears that he was a candidate for the Mastership of the Revels: we hear of him nowhere else.

'To the right honorable & my singuler good Lorde, the Lorde of Burley.

'May it please your honor to be advertised, that whear as of late I did delyver to your honor certen letters subscrybed with the handes of the right honorable the lord treasorer, the worshipfull Sr Thomas Benger, Knight, and John Holte, late yoman of the queenes Maties Revells for your Lordships lawfull favor and furtherance for the obteyninge of the said office in the names of the saide John Holte and of me your humble suppliant. Sithens the delyvery whear of, yt hath pleased God to call the said Holte to his mercy, without haveinge done any further acte therin to the great losse, or rather utter undoeinge of your said supplyant, his wyff & children, onles your Lordships favourable ayd bee to me in this behalf extended. May it thearfor please your honor, accordinge to theffect of the said letters, to shew me your lawfull favor and ayd, and to stand my good Lorde for the obtayninge of the sayd office, whearin I have longe tyme served as Deputie for the saide John Holte, and have also been forssed to sell my lyvinge to make payment of mony which I payd Holte upon the composition wherof your honor is advertysed, and also to make payment to the workemen and other poore creditors for mony due unto them in the said office, accordinge to thear necessities before any warant graunted, only for to mayntayn the credit of the said office, as is very well known. All which I beseech your honor tenderly to consider, and accordinge to my duty I will contynually pray unto God for the preservation of your honor as the only key of my well doinge.

'Your humble Suppliant,

'Willm. Bowll.'

contained in a book of patents in the office of the Pells.[1] Why the vacancy was not supplied sooner after the death of Benger nowhere appears. John Lyly (author of *Euphues*, and afterwards a celebrated dramatic poet) had been a petitioner to the Queen for the reversion of the place on the demise of Benger, and his claim might possibly have some connection with the delay.[2]

The 'brief Declaration', before referred to, after stating that the expense of the Revels from the 14th of February 1578, to the 31st of October 1579, was 444*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.*, makes A. D. a claim on behalf of Tylney, for an allowance for the 1578-9. rent of a house, the apartments occupied by former Masters of the Revels in the precinct of St. John of Jerusalem, being then applied to the reception of some part of the apparel and furniture of the office. At the close of the account of the charges of the Revels from Christmas 1578, to November 1579 (in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest), that allowance is stated at 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, which may, perhaps,

[1] Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 57.

[2] Lyly's two petitions to the Queen are set forth in *MSS. Harl.*, No. 1877, and are reprinted in the edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays*, 1825, vol. ii, p. 87. Among the *Lansdowne MSS.* (Nos. 19 and 36) are two original letters from Lyly to Lord Burghley, which have never been noticed. The one is without date, but indorsed '16th May 1574, John Lilie, a scholar of Oxford': it is in Latin, and it prays the Queen's letter, in order that he might be admitted a fellow of Magdalen College. The other letter is also without date, and in English: it is not very intelligible; but it seems as if the writer had given some offence to Lady Burghley. It is thus subscribed, and we know of no other specimen of this highly popular author's hand-writing:—

be taken as the rent of the house occupied by the Master of the Revels.[1]

This last document furnishes a list of ten plays and two masks presented at court in the period to which it relates. In this respect it corresponds with the 'brief Declaration' in the Museum; but the sum inserted, as the total expense, is smaller by nearly 100*l.*, viz., 348*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* We can only account for the difference by supposing, that the 'brief Declaration' included items of charge not embraced by the account in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest. The names of two of the ten plays, one shown at Richmond on St. John's day at night, enacted by the children of the Chapel, and the other, 'provided to have been shown at Whitehall on Candlemas daie at night by the Earl of Warwick's servants', are left blank: the titles of the other eight are these:—

'An inventyon or playe of *the Systers of Mantua*, showen at Richmond on St. Stevens daie at night; enacted by the Earl of Warwick his servants.'—'An Historie of *the Creweltie of a Stepmother*, shewen at Richmond on Innocents daie at night; enacted by the Lord Chamberlaynes servants.'—'A Morall of *the Mariage of Mynde and Measure*, shewen at Richmond on the sonday next after New-yeares daie; enacted by the Children of Pawles.'—'A Pastorall or Historie of *a Greeke Maide*, shewen at Richmonde on the sondai next after New-yeares daie; enacted by the Earle of Leicester his ser-

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 86, art. 60, is a survey of the buildings appropriated to the Revels, by William Norton, surveyor of the works: it is without date, but seems to have been made before Sir William Cecill was raised to the peerage in February 1571. In it, it is stated that Henry VIII and Edward VI allowed Sir T. Cawarden and Sir T. Benger a sum yearly for providing a dwelling-house. When the Blackfriars was granted to Sir T. Cawarden, he kept the Office of the Revels there, and, after his death, it was removed to 'the late hospital of St. John of Jerusalem' near Smithfield. At the time of this survey all the premises were stated to be in good repair.

vants.'—'The Historie of *the Rape of the second Helene*, shewen at Richmond on Twelfdaie at night.'—'The Historie of *the Knight in the burnyng rock*, shewen at Whitehall on Shrove Sondaie at night; enacted by the Earle of Warwicks servaunts.'—'The History of *Loyalty and Bewtie*, shewen at Whitehall on Shrovemonday at nyght; enacted by the Children of the Quenes Majesties Chappel.'—'The History of *Murderous Mychaell*, shewen at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesdaie at night; enacted by the L. Chamberleynes servaunts.'

The two masks were a Mask of Amazons, and a Mask of Knights on Twelfth-night: in both speeches were made, which were translated into Italian by Patrichius Ubaldinas at a cost of *3l. 2s. 2d.* A Mask of Moors was also to have been presented on Shrove Tuesday, but for some reason it was omitted. The list of properties comprises nothing worthy of particular notice.

The account for the Revels at Christmas, Twelfth-tide, Candlemas, and Shrovetide, 1579-80, includes the expense of getting up and performing nine plays, without any masks: the names of two are omitted by the person making out the account: these two were performed at Whitehall, the first on St. John's night by the Children of the Chapel, and the second on Twelfth-night by the Earl of Leicester's servants. The following names are given to the remaining seven:— A. D. 1579-80.

'A History of *the Duke of Millayn and the Marques of Mantua*, shewed at Whitehall on St. Stephens daie at nighte; enacted by the Lord Chamberlaynes servants.'—'A History of *Alucius*, shewed at Whitehall on St. John's daie at nighte; enacted by the Children of her Majesties Chappell.'—'A History of *the Foure Sonnes of Fabyous*, shewed at Whitehall on New yeares daie at nighte; enacted by the Earle of Warwicks servants.'—'The History of *Cipio Africanus*, shewen at Whitehall the sondaie night after New-yeares daie; enacted by the Children of Pawles.'—'The History of *Portio and Demorantes*,

shewen at Whitehall on Candlemas daie at nighte; enacted by the Lord Chamberleyns servants.'—'The History of *the Soldan and the Duke of* ———, shewen at Whitehall on Shrovesondaie at nighte; enacted by the Earle of Derby his servants.'—'The History of *Serpedon*, shewen at Whitehall on Shrovetuesdaie at nighte; enacted by the Lord Chamberleyns servants.'

A country house, a great city, a battlement, a wood, and a castle, are enumerated among the properties employed. In this account it is again distinctly stated, that the plays were rehearsed before the Master of the Revels, in order that he might make choice of the best to be performed at court. The painting of seven cities, and of a village, is mentioned among the work done.

Seven plays were exhibited in the next year, 1580-1, but the names of only two are preserved; viz.:—

'A Comodie called *Delighte*, shewed at Whitehall on St. Stephens daie at night.' It was performed by 'the Earl of Leicester's men.'—'A Storie of *Pompey*, enacted in the Hall on Twelf night,' by 'the Children of Pawles.'

Of the other unnamed five, two were played by the Earl of Sussex's servants; one by the Earl of Leicester's servants; one by the Earl of Derby's servants, and one by the Children of the Chapel.

The properties, with the addition of 'a senate-house', were nearly the same as in the preceding year. Two 'challenges' are also registered, as well 'as certain masks for the receiving of the French Commissioners'. According to Stow, jousting took place on the 16th of January, and on Whit-Monday and Tuesday. A banqueting-house, constructed for the entertainment of 'the Dolphin of Auvergne', the Marshal of France, etc., who arrived in England on the 16th of April, cost 1744*l.* 19*s.*[1] The principal Challengers on Whit-Monday and

[1] Stow's *Chronicle*, 1615, pp. 1166 and 1167.

Tuesday were the Earl of Arundel, Frederick Lord Windsor, Sir Philip Sidney, and Fulke Greville.

'A briefe note of the provisions emptions and wages for her Majesties Revells this yeare, 1581', among the *Lansdowne MSS.*[1] and subscribed by A. D. 1581.

as Master,[2] by Edward Buggin, as Yeoman, and by Edward Kirkham, as Clerk of the Revels, makes the expense for the whole year amount to 577*l.* 10*s.* The minute items of this account are inserted below.[3]

[1] No. 31.

[2] Tylney was the author of a little volume which he called *The Flower of Friendship*, and it was printed in 1568. It is a discourse on, and in praise of matrimony, written in imitation of the Italian discussions between different persons on set topics, such as in Castiglione's *Courtier*, etc. Among the interlocutors were Pedro de Luxan, a Spaniard, Erasmus and Ludovicus Vives, who are supposed, with the author and some others, to be collected at the house, or in the grounds, of Lady Julia in the summer. Pedro de Luxan and Lady Julia are the principal speakers. It was dedicated by Edmunde Tilney to Queen Elizabeth; and he claims it as an original work, and not a translation.

[3] 'John Boles, for a mount with a Castle uppon it, a dragon, artificial tree, &c., 100*l.*; unto diverse persons for 46 Sheildes, the tymber worke, iron worke, and leathering of them, with the painting and gilding of the impresses at xv*s.* a peece, 34*l.* 10*s.*; Serjeant painters bill for painting mowlding and gilding, 38*l.*; Willm. Boles bill for cop. frindge, lace, tassells, buttons and such like, 36*l.* 3*s.*; twoe mercers billes for cloth of golde, counterfeit cloth of silver, tincell, taffeta, taffeta sarcenets, and single sarcenets, 105*l.* 3*s.*; the Carpenters bill, &c., 5*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*; the Buskenmaker, &c., 5*l.* 12*s.*; the Fethermaker, 9*l.*; the wierdrawer for

Before we quit the year 1581, it is necessary to notice another document in the Lansdowne Collection, which makes mention of an old 'interlude player', attached to the Queen's domestic establishment, called John Smith: he is entered in an account furnished to Lord Burghley by Sir Thomas Henneage, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, of his disbursements in the twenty-second year of the reign of Elizabeth. Smith's wages are stated to be as usual, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, with an allowance of 1*l.* 4*s.* 'for his livery'. He was one of the 'players of interludes' belonging to the royal household in the reign of Edward VI, and his name is inserted in the same account with the expenses of trumpeters and musicians.[1] In the four-and-thirty years which elapsed between the settlement of the royal household by the Duke of Somerset in 1547, and the date to which we are now adverting, it is most probable that Smith's then fellows, Cock, Birch and Heryet, had died, as their names are not given in the *Lansdowne MS.* which mentions the veteran Smith.

It seems that in 1580, the contest between the Court and the City of London regarding the fitness or unfitness of

braunches, plats, and other garnishings for the Hall, 26*l.*; John Digges bills for threed, silke, &c., and artificiall lyon and horse, 26*l.* 11*s.*; John Sherbornes billes for carrell [?], baies, candle, fuell, heares, beards, &c., carriage of stuffe, botehier, 19*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*; the yeoman's bill for gold tincell, &c., 3*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*; the clerke comptrollers bill for silke floures, &c., counterfeite perle, &c., 14*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*: laid out by the Mr of the Revells for canvas vizards, fewell, rewards, and other his ordinary allowances, 22*l.* 4*s.*; wages of artificers and attendants, 87*l.*; Officers wages, 49*l.*; with the airings for this year.'

[1] The cost of these at this date, as appears upon the statement of Sir T. Henneage, was as follows:—

'To Trumpeters and Violins, 346*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; to Flutes, including Nich Lanere and P. Guy, 236*l.* 4*d.*; Sackbutts, 101*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*; Musicians, 64*l.* 9*s.*—Total, 748*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*'

theatrical representations, especially on Sundays, had been renewed, and the following summary of the correspondence on the subject has been printed: it is important historically, though it does not throw any new light upon the names and nature of the pieces represented: it belongs to the years 1580, 1581, 1582, and 1583, and has been derived from the archives of the Corporation; but we have not thought it necessary to give the particular references as they stand in the official records of the city:[1]—

'From the Lord Mayor to the Lord Chancellor, respecting a disorder at the Theatre on Sunday, and the wickedness and impiety occasioned by Plays and Players.—12th April 1580.

'From the Lord Mayor to the Lord Treasurer, respecting the means of preventing infection in the City, and averting the wrath of God, by putting down infamous Houses, Plays, &c., and restraining buildings.—17th June 1580.

'Particulars of matters necessary to be redressed, but which the Lord Mayor hath not the power to enforce (referred to in the preceding letter).

'From the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor and Justices of the Peace in the County of Middlesex and Liberties adjoining the City, for the suppression of Plays and all great assemblages of people until the end of September, for preventing the spread of the Plague and other contagious diseases.—10th July 1581.

'From Henry Berkley to the Lord Mayor, respecting some of his men committed to prison for playing on the Sabbath-day, contrary to the Lord Mayor's orders, which were unknown to them. From his lodging in the Strand, this present Tuesday 1581.

'From the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, authorizing the exercise of Plays to be resumed, because of the Plague, on account of which they were forbidden,

[1] We insert them precisely as we find them, very usefully and compendiously stated, in the *Athenæum* of 23rd January 1869, on the authority of Mr. Orridge of the city-library.

having ceased, and that the Players may be in readiness with convenient matters *for the Queen's solace at Christmas*, which they cannot be without their usual exercise therein.—18th November 1581.

'From the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor, for permitting Plays to be performed on Holidays after Evening Prayer, *and for appointing some fit person who may consider and allow of such Plays* only as be fit to yield honest recreation, and [contain] no example of evil.—11th April 1582.

'From the Lord Mayor to the Lords of the Council, in reply to their letter for allowing Plays to be performed on Holidays after Evening Prayer, with sundry reasons against the same.—12th April 1582.

'From the Earl of Warwick to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, or Sheriffs, for licence to be given to his servant, John David, to play his pieces, in his science and profession of defence, at the Bull, in Bishopsgate Street.—1st July 1582.

'From the Earl of Warwick to the Lord Mayor, expressing his surprise at the prohibition of playing prizes by his servant, and requiring that more favour be shown him therein.—23 July 1582.

'From the Lord Mayor to the Lord High Treasurer, informing him of the further steps taken with respect to forming a Catalogue of Infected Houses; and also of an accident at Paris Garden, where several persons were slain and maimed by the falling of a scaffold on the Sabbath Day; and beseeching him to give order for redress of such abuses of that day and contempt of God service.—18th January 1582.

'From the Lord Burghley to the Lord Mayor containing further instruction for making public the Catalogue of Infected Houses, and also respecting the accident at Paris Garden, and the prohibition for the future of the pastimes used there on the Sabbath Day, and for prevention of the importation of Grain.—15 January 1582.

'From the Lord Mayor to the Earl of Warwick, in reply, explaining the reasons for the prohibition.—24th July 1582.

'From the Lord Mayor to Mr. Young, a Justice of the Peace for

an adjoining district, respecting prohibiting Plays intended to be performed on the 1st May, on account of the danger of infection, &c. —27th April 1583.

'From the Lord Mayor to the Lords of the Council respecting the neglect of archery, and the increase of unlawful games and pastimes, to the injury and dishonour of the City, and their resolution to reform such abuses.—3rd July 1583.

'From the Lord Mayor to Sir Francis Walsingham, informing him of the care taken in the City for the stay of infection of the Plague, and of the evils attending the assemblies at Plays, Bear Baitings, &c., and requesting that like restraint may be enforced in places adjoining the City.—3rd May 1583.

'From Sir Francis Walsingham to the Lord Mayor, explaining the intentions of the Lords of the Council in granting a licence to the Queen's Players.—1st December 1583.

'From the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor, respecting granting a licence to the Queen's Players.—26th November 1583.'

Thus the matter seems to have rested, according to this excellent source of information, until the year 1591, when the Corporation, perhaps despairing of redress from other quarters, addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury; and we give the summary of their two letters on the same authority as the preceding accounts: we place them here, a little out of date, because being all *in pari materiâ*, they cannot well be severed:—

'From the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, representing the evils produced by the number of Players and Playing Houses within the City, and requesting his favour and help for the reforming and banishing the same.—25th February 1591.

'From the Lord Mayor to the Archbishop of Canterbury, thanking him for the assistance, &c., afforded by him respecting the suppressing of Plays, &c., agreeably to the request made in a former Letter. —6th March 1591.'

Still, no redress of the grievance could be procured; and in May 1592, the Corporation transmitted a remonstrance on the subject to the Lord Treasurer, who, in all probability, was equally inflexible :—

'From the Lord Mayor to the Lord High Treasurer, informing him of the tumult and disorder in Southwark, the occasion thereof, and what had been done in consequence.—30th May 1592.'

We now return to the year 1582, when the accounts preserved in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest show, that the charge of the Revels for the amusements at Christmas, Twelfth-tide, and Shrove-tide, was 288*l.* 9*s.* 8½d. The plays presented were six in number, viz. :— A. D. 1582.

'A Comodie, or Morall, devised on *a Game of the Cards*, shewed on St. Stephens daie at night before her Majestie at Wyndesor; enacted by the Children of her Majesties Chapple.

'A Comodie of *Bewtie & Huswyfery*, showed before her Majestie at Wyndesor on St. John's daie at night; enacted by the Lord of Hundesdons servaunts.

'A Historie of *Love & Fortune*,[1] shewed before her Majestie at Wyndesor on the sondaie at night next before new yeares daie; enacted by the Earle of Derbies servaunts.

'A Historie of *Ferrar*,[2] shewed before her Majestie at Wyndesor on Twelf daie at night; enacted by the Lord Chamberleynes servaunts.

'A Historie of *Telomo*, shewed before her Majestie at Richmond

---

[1] Perhaps *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, printed in 1589. A copy, believed to be unique, is in the possession of the Earl of Ellesmere. It is examined in the *Hist. of Dram. Poet.*

[2] Probably the same piece as *The History of Error*, mentioned under date of 1576-7. Boswell (*Shakespeare*, iii, p. 406) not very happily conjectured that this was a play written by the celebrated George Ferrers. It is, no doubt, a mere mistake in the title by the clerk who made out the account, and who wrote by his ear, and not by his copy.

on Shrove sondaie at night; enacted by the Earle of Leicesters servaunts.

'A Historie of *Ariodante and Geneuora*,[1] shewed before her Majestie on Shrovetuesdaie at night; enacted by Mr. Mulcasters children.'

'Sundry feats of tumbling' were also exhibited before the Queen, on New-year's night, by the servants of Lord Strange, and the shews of the year included also a mask of ladies. Another mask of six seamen was to have been performed, but 'it was not used'.

The properties on these occasions included little more than a city, and a battlement, employed on former occasions, and twenty-one yards of cotton for the Matachins.[2]

The dispute between the Privy Council, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, regarding the performance of plays within the limits of the city, had been revived on the 3rd of December 1581, when, as appears by the Council Registers, a letter, not found in the city-records, was written to the Lord Mayor in which he was 'ordered' to suffer certain companies of players (who had petitioned the Privy Council for that purpose) 'to use and exercise their trade of playing in and about the city, as they have heretofore accustomed, upon

[1] The episode of Ariodante and Geneura had been translated into English, from the Italian of *Ariosto*, by Peter Beverley, shortly before this play was acted: perhaps the author of the drama derived his plot from Beverley's version, which was printed in small octavo, under the following title, *The History of Ariodanto and Jeneura, daughter to the King of Scottes, in English verse.* 'Printed by Thomas East for Frauncis Coldocke.' It has no date, but the same author wrote commendatory verses to Geoffrey Fenton's *Tragical Discourses*, published in 1579.

[2] Misprinted *Matachius* in Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 407. A matachine was a species of mask, in which the performers were armed. The precise difference between the two may be ascertained by consulting Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, ii, 435.

the week days only, being holidays, or other days; so as they do forbear wholly to play on the Sabbath day, either in the forenoon or afternoon, which to do they are by their Lordships' order expressly denied and forbidden.' Whatever might, or might not, be the effect of this communication, on the 25th of April 1582, the Lords of the Council assumed a very different tone, for in a letter to the Lord Mayor, dated on that day, they 'pray his Lordship to revoke his late inhibition against their playing on the holidays, but that he do suffer them, as well within the city as without, to use their exercise of playing on the said holydays after evening prayer, only forbearing the Sabbath day, according to their Lordships' said order; and when he shall find that the continuance of the same their exercise, by the increase of sickness and infection, shall be dangerous, to certify their Lordships, and they will presently take order accordingly.'

In a preceding part of the letter, the Lords of the Privy Council adverted to the reasonableness of allowing players to perform 'for honest recreation sake', and in order that they might 'attain to the more perfection and dexterity' when they should be called upon to act before the Queen. At the same time the Lords of the Privy Council admitted the propriety of looking into the comedies, 'that those which do contain matter that may breed corruption of manners and conversation among the people be forbidden.' It is to be collected from *Lansdowne MS.* No. 20, that the City authorities (perhaps through their Recorder, Fleetwood, who was in constant communication with Lord Burghley) had at this date some farther correspondence with the Lord Treasurer on the impolicy of encouraging theatrical performances, in which the 'Act of Common Council' of 1575, *tempore* Hawes, Mayor, and the 'Orders for setting rogues and idle persons to work' (printed by Hugh Singleton), were referred

to. The same MS. also notices the catastrophe at one of the places of public amusement and resort, to which we must here again advert.

Paris Garden had been employed for the purpose of baiting wild beasts at least as far back as the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. How long before 1583, an amphitheatre for that purpose had been built, it is not now possible distinctly to ascertain ; but it seems that the wooden galleries, in which the spectators stood, were then much decayed ; and on the 13th of January 1582-3, one of them fell, from the weight of people upon it, and many were hurt, and some killed.[1] On the day following this accident, Sir Thomas Blanke, then Lord Mayor of London, wrote (as we have already seen) to Lord Burghley, and his letter contains the following paragraph :— A. D. 1583.

'It may please your Lordship to be further advertised (which I thinke you have alredie hard) of a greate mysshappe at Parise gardenne, where, by ruyn of all the scaffolds at once yesterdaie, a greate nombre of people are some presentlie slayne, and some maymed, and greavouslye hurte. It giveth greate occasion to acknowledge the hande of God for suche abuse of the Sabboth daie, and moveth me in consciens to beseche your Lordshipp to give order for redresse of suche contempt of God's service. I have to that ende treated with some Justices of peace of that Countie, who signifie themselfes to have very good zeale, but alledge want of commyssion, which we humblie referre to the consideration of your honorable wisedome[2].'

We quote the following stanzas from a long ballad of the time, printed in order to suppress or check the evil: we

[1] Stow (*Chronicle*, p. 1173, edition 1615) says that 'eight persons, men and women, were slaine, and many others sore hurt and bruised, to the shortening of their lives.'

[2] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 73.

know that it produced little effect, but, perhaps, as much as the pious author expected :—

'It was the Sabboth of the Lord,
That this sad chance befell,
A day that all with one accord
Should keepe and hallow well :
But witness now the wofull end,
Of such the Sabboth who misspend,
And do not make the Lord their friend,
As reverent preachers tell.

'No marvell if the wrath of God
Was kindled at the sight,
And that he made them feel the rod
Of his almighty might :
For why, at Church they ought have been,
The prayers reading then I weene,
And not with beares and mastives seene,
Which was their sole delight.

'Our godly preachers toyle in vaine
To put down hateful playes :
They cannot men from vice restraine,
Try they a thousand wayes.
The Theaters are alway full,
And baiting of the beare and bull
Still draw eche vagrant, rogue, and trull,
So to imploy their dayes.

'But let this chance a lesson prove.
Amend your wicked lives :
Remember it was God above,
Who still by mercy strives
His loving people to embrace ;
But all that meete in such a place
He knoweth are beyond all grace,
For them the Devill drives.'

The production runs out to several other stanzas, but those we have quoted are sufficient for our purpose.

Fleetwood, the Recorder, (who was in the habit of transmitting to Lord Burghley a sort of diary of proceedings in the city), on this occasion wrote as follows : 'Upon the same daie (Sunday, Jan. 13th, 1582-3) the violaters of the Sabothe were punished by God's providence at Paris Garden ; and as I was wryting of these last words before, is a booke putt downe upon the same matter.' The booke to which he alludes is a small tract in 12mo. by 'John Field, Minister of the Word of God',[1] of which the following is the title, 'A godly Exhortation, by occasion of the late judgement of God shewed at Paris Garden, the thirteenth day of January ;

[1] John Field was a busy puritanical preacher, who, prior to the 25th November 1581, seems to have been in confinement, from which he was released by the instrumentality of Lord Leicester. This obligation he acknowledges in a letter of the date above mentioned, addressed to the Earl, which is also curious, inasmuch as it refers, in terms of censure, to the manner in which Lord Leicester had recently interested himself in favour of certain players. It is hardly possible that Field, in 1583, should refer back so far as to the year 1574, when the patent was granted to James Burbadge and others; and we may take it, therefore, that he alludes to some other interference, perhaps in behalf of actors who wished to be allowed to perform within the City. After telling Lord Leicester how much he, and the whole Church, are bound to him, 'as the instrument of his peace and libertie', Field proceeds :—

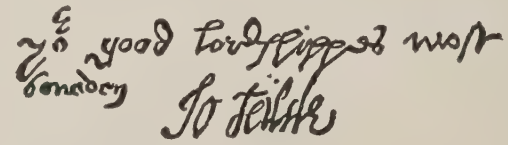
'The more Sathan rageth, the more valianter be you under the standert of him who will not be foyled. And I humblie beseech your honor to take heede howe you gyve your hande, either in evill causes, or in the behalfe of evill men, *as of late you did for players to the great greife of all the godly ;* but as you have shewed your forwardnes for the Ministery of the Gospel, so followe that course still. Our Cyttie hath bene well eased of the pester of those wickednesses, and abuses, that were wonte to be nourished by those impure *interludes and playes* that were in use—surely the schooles of as greate wickednesses as can be. I truste your honor will herein joyne with them that have longe, owt of the word, cryed

where were assembled by estimation above a thousand persons, whereof some were slaine, and of that number at the least, as is credibly reported, the third person maimed and hurt. Given to all estates for their instruction concerning the keeping of the Sabboth day.'

The order of the Privy Council against performances on Sunday, mentioned in the letter to the Lord Mayor of 3d December 1581, only applied to the City of London; but after the accident at Paris Garden the regulation seems to have been made general.[1]

Some months subsequent to this catastrophe, which, to a certain extent, had the effect of accomplishing the wishes of the enemies of dramatic representations by abolishing the performance of plays on Sunday, the Queen, at the request of Sir F. Walsingham, and with the advice of the Master of the

out against them; and I am persuaded that if your honor knewe what sincks of synne they are, you woulde never looke once towards them. The lord Jesus blesse you. Nov. 25, 1581.'



The words in italic are interlined in the original MS. (*MSS. Cotton., Titus, B.* vii, fol. 22.)

[1] Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, was a member of the House of Commons, and sent to Lord Burghley an account of the proceedings there from the 2nd to the 29th November 1584. He states that a bill was brought in, read a first and second time, and committed, 'for the due observation of Sundays'. In the Committee all the young members attended, and the Recorder complains that, 'as twenty talked at once,' nothing could be done with the measure. No doubt the young members attended to defeat the bill. See also *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 41.

Revels,[1] selected twelve performers out of some of the companies of her nobility which used to act before her, to be her own

[1] The following passage, in the Account of the Revels for 1582-3, shews Tylney's concern in this affair:—

'Edmond Tylney, Esquire, Mr of the Office, being sente for to the courte by letter from Mr. Secretary, dated the 10th of Marche 1582, to choose out a companie of Players for her Majestie.'

To this is added his expenses for horse hire, etc., amounting to 20*s*. Chalmers (*Apology*, p. 389) says that the Queen's company was formed in 1581, but this is decidedly a mistake. Malone also errs, calling *Robert* Wilson, *Thomas*. Wilson was not only an actor, but the author of *The Cobbler's Prophesy*, a play printed in 1594. All doubt upon the point will now for the first time be set at rest by the publication of the very terms of the Original Patent, derived from the official Roll of the 24th of Elizabeth. It is in these terms:—

'ELIZABETH BY THE GRACE OF GOD, &c. To all manner our Justices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Bayliffes, Constables, and all other our officers, Ministers, true Liege Men, and Subjectes, and to every of them, Greetinge.

'We lett you witt, that We have authorised, licensed and commaunded, and by these presentes do authorise, licence and commande our welbeloved Edmunde Tylney, Esquire, Maister of our Revells, as well to take and retaine for us and in our Name at all tymes from hensforth, and in all places within this our Realme of England, as well within Francheses and Liberties as without, at competent Wages, as well all suche and as many Painters, Imbroderers, Taylors, Cappers, Haberdashers, Joyners, Carvers, Glasiers, Armorers, Basket makers, Skinners, Sadlers, Waggon Makers, Plaisterers, Fether makers, as all other propertie makers and conninge Artificers and Laborers whatsoever, as our said Servant or his Assigne, bearers hereof, shall think necessarie and requisite for the speedie workinge and fynisheinge of any exploite, workmanshippe, or peece of service that shall at any tyme hereafter belonge to our saide Office of the Revells; as also to take at price reasonable in all places within our said Realme of England, as well within Francheses and Liberties as without, any kinde or kindes of Stuffe, Ware or Marchandise, Woode or Coale or other Fewell, Tymber, Wainscott Boarde, Lathe, Nailes, Bricke, Tile, Leade, Iron Wier, and all other necessaries for our said Workes of the said office of our Revells, as he the said Edmunde or his assigne shall

dramatic servants, and to be called *The Queen's Players.* Of these, Robert Wilson, of 'a quick, delicate, refined, extem-

thinke behoofefull and expedient from tyme to tyme for our said service in the said office of the Revells. Together with all carriages for the same, both by Land and by Water, as the case shall require.

'And furthermore we have by these presents authorised and commaunded the said Edmunde Tylney that in case any p'son or p'sons, whatsoever they be, will obstinatelie disobey and refuse from hensforth to accomplishe and obey our com'aundement and pleasure in that behalfe, or withdrawe themselves from any of our said Workes, upon warninge to them or any of them given by the saide Edmunde Tylney, or by his sufficient Deputie in that behalfe to be named, appointed for their diligent attendance and workmanship upon the said workes or devises, as to their naturall dutie and alleigeance apperteineth; that then it shalbe lawfull unto the same Edmund Tilney, or his Deputie for the tyme beinge, to attache the partie or parties so offendinge, and him or them to commyt to warde, there to remaine without baile or maineprise, untill suche tyme as the saide Edmunde, or his Deputie, shall thinke the tyme of his or their Imprisonment to be punishement sufficient for his or their saide offence in that behalfe, and that done to enlarge him or them, so beinge imprisoned, at their full Libertie, without any Losse, Penaltie, Forfaiture, or other damage in that behalfe to be susteined or borne by the saide Edmunde Tilney or his said Deputie.

'And also, if any p'son or p'sons, beinge taken into our said workes of the said office of our Revells, beinge arrested comminge or goinge to or from our saide Workes of our said office of our Revells, at the sute of any p'son or p'sons, then the said Edmunde Tilney, by vertue and authoritie hereof, to enlarge him or them, as by our speciall p'tection duringe the tyme of our said workes.

'And also, if any p'son or p'sons beinge reteyned in our said workes of our said office of Revells have taken any manner of taske worke, beinge bound to finishe the same by a certen day, shall not runne into any manner of forfeiture or penaltie for breakinge of his day, so that he or they ymmediatly after the fynishinge of our said workes, indevor him or themselves to fynishe the saide taske worke.

'And furthermore also we have and doe by these presentes authorise and com'aunde our said Servant Edmunde Tilney, Maister of our said Revells, by himselfe or his sufficient Deputie or Deputies, to warne,

poral wit', and Richard Tarlton, of 'a wondrous plentiful pleasant extemporal wit', were two; and Howes (whose

comaunde and appointe in all places within this our Realme of England, as well within Francheses and Liberties as without, all and ev'ry plaier or plaiers, with their playmakers, either belonginge to any Noble Man, or otherwise bearinge the Name or Names or usinge the Facultie of Playmakers or Plaiers of Comedies, Trajedies, Enterludes, or what other Showes soever, from tyme to tyme and at all tymes to appeare before him, with all suche Plaies, Tragedies, Comedies, or Showes as they shall have in readines, or meane to sett forth, and them to presente and recite before our said Servant, or his sufficient Deputie, whom wee ordeyne, appointe and authorise by these presentes of all suche Showes, Plaies, Plaiers, and Playmakers, together with their playinge places, to order and reforme, auctorise and put downe, as shalbe thought meete or unmeete unto himselfe or his said Deputie in that behalfe.

'And also likewise we have by these presentes authorised and com'aunded the said Edmunde Tylney, that in case if any of them, whatsoever they bee, will obstinatelie refuse, upon warninge unto them given by the said Edmunde, or his sufficient Deputie, to accomplishe and obey our comaundement in this behalfe, then it shalbe lawful to the saide Edmunde, or his sufficient Deputie, to attache the partie or parties so offendinge and him or them to com'ytt to Warde, to remaine without bayle or mayneprise, untill suche tyme as the same Edmund Tylney, or his sufficient Deputie, shall thinke the tyme of his or theire ymprisonment to be punishement sufficient for his or their said offence in that behalfe; and that done to inlarge him or them so beinge imprisoned at their plaine libertie without any losse, penaltie, forfeiture or other daunger in this behalfe to be susteyned or borne by the said Edmunde Tylney or his Deputie; any Acte, Statute, Ordinance, or P'vision heretofore had or made to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstandinge.

'Wherefore we will and com'aunde you, and every of you, that unto the said Edmunde Tylney, or his sufficient Deputie, bearer hereof, in the due execuc'on of this our authoritie and comaundement ye be aydinge, supportinge and assistinge from tyme to tyme, as the case shall require, as you and every of you tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrarie at your uttermost perills. In Witnesse whereof do Witnes our selfe at Westm'r the xxiiijth day of December in the xxiiijth yere of our Raigne.'

additions to Stow's *Chronicle* we are quoting) tells us, that 'they were all sworn the Queen's servants, and were allowed wages and liveries, as grooms of the Chamber': he adds, that 'until this year, 1583, the Queen had no players'.

In a certain sense, this statement may be considered true; but we have already seen that Elizabeth had 'Players of Interludes' in her pay, as part of her household, from the very commencement of her reign; and in the Book of the domestic establishment of this Queen in the year 1585, preserved in the British Museum, they are still enumerated, each receiving the old annual stipend of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* If Howes be correct, the twelve new players appointed in 1583 were paid and liveried as grooms of the chamber. In the Book of 1585, there is a separate item of 'Players', distinct from 'Players of Interludes', with the sum of 38*l.* 4*s.* opposite to them, and this was probably the amount paid to the performers who were selected in 1583.[1] Malone, who only 'suspected' that Queen Elizabeth had players on her establishment like Edward VI and Mary, thought that the eight 'Players of Interludes', mentioned in the Household Book of 1585, must

[1] The following is the statement of the expense of 'Musicions and Players' in the Queen's *Household Book* of 1585, among the *Sloane MSS.*, No. 3194:—

'Sergiante of the Trompetors, fee 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Trumpetors 16, fee to every of them 27*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Luters 3, fee 40*l.*; For six singing children, fee 18*l.* 5*s.*; Harpers 2, to one 20*l.*, to the other 18*l.* 5*s.*; Singers 2, fee to each 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; Rebecke, fee 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Sackbutts 6, fee to one of them 36*l.* 10*s.*, to the rest, a-piece 30*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; Vials 8, fee to one 20*l.*, to another 18*l.* 5*s.*, the rest 30*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; Bagpiper, fee 12*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; Musicions 9, fee to one 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, another 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, the rest, per diem, a-piece 1*s.*; Drummers 3, fee to each, per diem 1*s.*; Fluters 2, fee 48*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; Virginalle, fee 50*l.*; Players, fee 38*l.* 4*s.*; ——— fee 12*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Musicions strangers, fee to 4, 183*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, to another 36*l.* 10*s.*; the rest, a-piece 38*l.*; Players of Enterluts 8, fee to every of them 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Organ maker, fee 20*l.*; Rigall maker, fee 10*l.*'

be eight out of the twelve performers selected in 1583 : if so, the remaining four must also have been remunerated, and Howes expressly states that all twelve 'were allowed wages and liveries'.

Before we enter upon the theatrical transactions of the year 1584, it is proper to mention that Tylney, the Master of the Revels, had exhibited his authority, and exercised his power in some of the larger towns of the provinces in 1583 : we may mention Leicester in particular : an actor of the name of Haysell, in February 1583, had there produced a license from Tylney on behalf of himself and his fellows, who were to be allowed to perform; but in no play that had not been previously approved by the Master of the Revels. A similar course had been pursued in other populous places.

In the account of the charges of the Revels at Court for the year 1584-5, it appears, that 'Her Majesty's servants', meaning her twelve new performers, played in her presence five pieces, and would have played a sixth, 'an invention of three plays in one', at Somerset-place 'on Shrovesondaie', but that 'the Quene came not abroad that night'. The pieces in which they acted were the following :— A. D. 1584.

'A Pastorall of *Phillyda and Choryn*, on St. Stephens daie at night, at Grenewiche.

'The History of *Felix and Philiomena*, on the sondaie next after newe yeares-daie at night, at Grenewiche.

'An invention called *Fyve Plays in One*, on Twelfe daie at night, in the hall at Grenewiche.

'An antick Play, and a Comody [not named], on Shrovetuesdaie at night, at Somerset-place.'

The Earl of Oxford's boys, who played 'the history of *Agamemnon and Ulysses*, on St. John's daie at night, at Grenewiche', and 'Symons and his fellows', who went through

'dyvers feates of actyvytie', seem the only other actors who appeared before the Queen in this year. Among the properties employed, we read of 'one great cloth of canvas', a battlement, a mountain, and a house. No masks are mentioned, and the total cost from October 1584, to October 1585, was only 279*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*

We have more than once mentioned, and quoted, Recorder Fleetwood's reports, sent occasionally to Lord Burghley, and preserved with his papers among the *Lansdowne MSS.* The following curious extracts are from one of them, referring to transactions in London relative to play-houses at Whitsuntide 1584, and to a renewed endeavour, on the part of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to suppress the Theatre and Curtain, the two *play-houses* so called, in Shoreditch:—

'Upon Whit sondaye there was a very good sermond preached at the new churche yarde nere Bethlehem, wherat my Lo. Mayor was with his bretheren; and, by reason *no playes were the same daie*, all the citie was quiet. * * *

'That night (Monday) retorned to London, and found all the wardes full of watches: the cause therof was, that very nere the Theatre or Curten, at the tyme of the playes there, laye a prentice sleping upon the grasse, and on [one] Challis at Brostock dyd turne upon the too [toe] upon the belly of the same prentice; whereupon the apprentice start up, and after words they fell to playne blowes. * * *

'Upon Weddensday one Browne, a serving man in a blew coat, a slashing fellowe, having a perrelous witt of his owne, entending a sport if he could have brought it to passe, did at the Theater doore quarrell with certen poore boys, handicraft prenteses, and shooke some of them; and lastely he with his sword wounded and maymed one of the boyes upon the left hand; wherupon there assembled nere a M [1000] people. * * *

'Upon Soundaye my Lord sent two Aldermen to the Court, for the *suppressing and pulling downe of the Theatre and Curten.* All

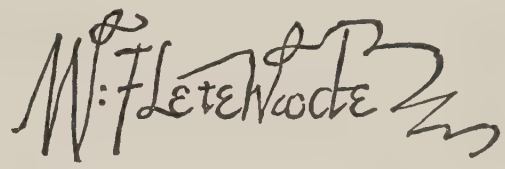
the Lords were therunto, saving my Lord Chamberlen and Mr. Vyce; but we obteyned a letter to suppresse theym. Upon the same nyght I sent for the quenes players, and my Lo. of Arundel his players, and they all willinglie obeyed the Lords letters. The cheefest of her highnes players advysed me to send for the owner of the Theatre, who was a stubborne fellow, and to bynd hym. I did so: he sent me word, that he was my Lo. of Hunsdens man, and that he wold not come at me, but he wold in the mornyng ride to my Lord. Then I sent the under Sheriff for hym, and he brought hym to me; * * * and in the end I shewed hym my Lo: his Masters hand, and then he was more quiet; but to die for it he wold not be bound. And then I mynding to send hym to prison, he made sute that he might be bounde to appere at the Oier & Determiner, the which is to morowe, where he said that he was sure the Court wold not bynd hym, being a Counselors man. And so I have graunted his request, where he shalbe sure to be bound, or else ys lyke to do worse. * * *

'An old mucision of the Quenes had this last night *meretricem* in his *lectulo:* one Alen a constable, being *homo barbatus*, toke theym. The Italian most violentlie tore of Alens berd, and said that he might have a wenche in his chamber, because for that he was the Quenes man. Alen now is become a Marques unto my Lo. Maior, hath bound the Italian to aunswere at the next gaole delyveries.'[1]

Independent of the rest of this minute and curious detail, the last paragraph proves what a strict watch the Lord Mayor, and his brethren, at this time kept over the morals of the city.

[1] Anthony Wood says of Fleetwood, that he was not only a learned lawyer and antiquary, but 'of a marvellous merry and pleasant conceit'; and some of his other letters to Lord Burghley, as well as the closing paragraph of the above communication, afford evidence of his sprightly turn of mind, even when writing to the grave Lord Treasurer. He was himself a natural son, so that he might be disposed to treat the 'Queen's old musician', caught with *meretricem* in his *lectulo*, with the less severity. The date of Fleetwood's birth is uncertain, probably between 1530 and 1540: he died February 28th, 1594.

It is signed by the legal adviser of the city, who subscribed his name in the following form :—



Fleetwood was Recorder of London as early as 1569, and it has been supposed, probably without sufficient ground, that he became so through the influence of the Earl of Leicester : it seems more likely that he owed this appointment to Lord Burghley, who made him one of the Queen's Serjeants eight years after the date to which we are now referring. The following epigram was written upon his demise.

'When Fleetwood died, the Devil cried
Here comes one of our own !
Old Burgley's Sargeant, near allied
As flesh is to the bone :
The enemy of all poor players,
Albeit, he never said his prayers,
Save now and then,—that single bottle
Of a pint would prove a pottle.'

Besides drinking, he had many companionable qualities, and was a trustworthy lawyer.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1585 TO THE YEAR 1599.

In the year 1585, a licence of some kind (for the nature of it is not mentioned, nor the parties by, nor to whom it was given) had been granted for the exhibition of *certain games;* and it is to be gathered from a long letter by Fleetwood to Lord Burghley, that the latter had asked his opinion, as a lawyer, upon the legality of the instrument.[1] The Recorder's reply is dated 13th November 1585, and in it he says, that the licence had 'a great shewe of lawfull and reasonable games, that at the first face would seem to be sufferable; but in the end of the restyall there is a clawse—the which, by generallitie of the words, doth geve lycence to practyse all manner of *playes and unlawfull games*', and that, too, as he proceeds to shew, by the party obtaining the licence or by his deputy, on the Sabbath day. The kind of 'games or playes' intended is not specified, but Fleetwood gives it as his opinion that such a licence was illegal, and adds that no licence can be granted for a *malum naturaliter de se.* A. D. 1585.

Secretary Walsingham[2] had also intelligencers in London in

[1] See *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 41.

[2] After entertaining Queen Elizabeth at Barn Elms in 1589, Sir Francis Walsingham died so poor, in April 1590, that his effects would not pay the expense of a funeral suitable to his rank. Thomas Watson's elegant

his pay, who despatched news to him from time to time: one of these, who states himself to be a soldier, and who does not sign his name, on the 25th January 1586, sent him a communication, in which, with information and conjectures respecting the designs of France and Scotland, he

A. D. 1586.

tribute to his memory on the occasion was, therefore, disinterested, at least as far as regards any pecuniary consideration. It was written originally in Latin, but the author himself translated it into English, and printed it in the same year. This translation is a production of the utmost rarity, and the only copy known is in the King's Library: it is entitled *An Eglogue upon the Death of the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsingham, late Principall Secretarie to her Majestie*, etc., and it was printed by Robert Robinson in 1590. It is dedicated to Lady Frances Sydney, and in the course of the pastoral Watson takes occasion to advert to the services and untimely death of Sir Philip Sydney. The latter part of the poem is most interesting, particularly from the mention it makes of Spenser, calling upon him to perform a task to which Watson felt himself unequal. We have never seen it quoted, and we cannot refrain from inserting this portion of the poem, as it stands in the original. Watson speaks of Queen Elizabeth under the name of Diana, and then proceeds:—

'Yet lest my homespun verse obscure hir worth,
Sweet Spencer, let me leave this task to thee,
Whose neverstooping quill can best set forth
such things of state, as passe my Muse and me.
Thou, Spencer, art the alderliefest swaine,
or haply if that word be all to base,
Thou art Apollo, whose sweet hunnie vaine
amongst the Muses hath a chiefest place.
Therefore, in fulnes of thy duties love,
calme thou the tempest of Diana's brest,
Whilst shee for Melibæus late remove
afflicts her mind with overlong unrest.
Tell hir forthwith (for well shee likes thy vaine)
that though great Melibæus be awaie,
Yet like to him there manie still remaine,
which will uphold hir countrie from decaie.

mixes up the following interesting particulars regarding the stage; shewing the great number of actors at that time performing in the city, and that they then played every day in the week, *Sunday excepted.*

'The daylie abuse of Stage Playes is such an offence to the godly, and so great a hinderance to the gospell, as the papists do exceedingly rejoyce at the bleamysh theareof, and not without cause; for every day in the weake the players billes are sett up in sondry places of the cittie, some in the name of her Majesties menne, some the Earl of Leicr, some the E. of Oxford, the Lo. Admyralles, and dyvers others; so that when the belles tole to the Lectorer, the

---

'First name Damœtas, flowre of Arcadie,
whose thoughts are prudent and speech vertuous,
Whose looks have mildness joind with majestie,
whose hand is liberal and valorous:
He is Damœtas, who is wont to blame
extreamest justice voide of equitie:
Diana terms him by an other name,
Hatton, unless I faile in memorie.
Then name old Damon, whom shee knows of old,
for such a Nestor was to Græcians guide;
Worth ten of Ajax, worth all Crœssus gold,
if his deserts in ballance could be tride.
Damon is he, that counsels all aright,
and heedfullie preserves Dianaes store;
And wakes when others rest themselvs by night:
we Arcads call him *Cecill* heretofore.
Then name brave Ægon, that with ships defence,
about our coast orespreds the Ocean plaines,
To keepe fell monsters of the sea from hence:
we cleape him *Howard* that are countrie swaines.
Name Mopsus, Daphnis, Faustus and the rest,
whose severall gifts thy singing can expresse.
When thou shalt tell how shee in them is blest,
their verie names will comfort her distresse.'

trumpetts sound to the Stages, whereat the wicked faction of Rome lawgheth for joy, while the godly weepe for sorrowe. Woe is me! the play howses are pestered, when churches are naked: at the one it is not possible to gett a place, at the other voyde seates are plentie. The profaning of the Sabaoth is redressed, but as badde a custome entertayned, and yet still our long suffering God forbayreth to punishe. Yt is a wofull sight to see two hundred proude players jett in their silkes, wheare five hundred pore people sterve in the streets. But yf needes this mischief must be tollerated, whereat (no doubt) the highest frownith, yet for God's sake (Sir) lett every Stage in London pay a weekly pention to the pore, that *ex hoc malo proveniat aliquod bonum:* but it weare rather to be wisshed that players might be used, as Apollo did his lawghing, *semel in anno.* * * * Nowe, mee thinks, I see your honor smyle, and saye to your self, theise things are fitter for the pullpit, then a souldiers penne; but God (who searcheth the hart and reynes) knoweth that I write not hipocritically, but from the veary sorrowe of my soule.'[1]

In 1586, Elizabeth, following the arbitrary precedent set as long ago as the reign of Richard III, issued a warrant under her sign manual, authorising Thomas Gyles, Master of the Children of Paul's, to take up any boys in Cathedrals or Collegiate Churches, in order to be instructed for the entertainment of the Court. Nichols (*Progr. Eliz.*, ii, 432) states, that this document was issued in the 26th of Eliz.; but, had he referred to the original, a copy of which is subjoined in a note,[2] he would have seen that it bears date in the 27th year of Eliz.

[1] *Harleian MSS.*, No. 286.

[2] 'By the Queene.

'Elizabeth R.

'Whereas we have authoryzed our servaunte Thomas Gyles, Mr of the Children of the Cathedrall Churche of St. Paule, within our Cittie of London, to take upp suche apte and meete children, as are most fitt to be instructed and framed in the arte and science of musicke and singing,

At this date (as appears by the Accounts of the University), Players endeavoured to obtain a footing in Oxford, and the authorities seem to have had, or at all events resorted to, no means of preventing their performances but bribery: in 1587 the Players of the Earl of Leicester were paid 20*s.*, on condition that they should not act: the memorandum is in these terms:—*Solut. Histrionibus Comitis Lecestriæ, ut cum suis ludis sine majore Academiæ molestiâ discedant.*[1] Elsewhere, the performances are called *ludos inhonestos.*

In Feb. 1587, the Earl of Warwick obtained a warrant for the payment of the claim of George Evelyn of Wotton, for

as they may be had and founde out within anie place of this our Realme of England or Wales, to be by his education and bringing up made meete and hable to serve us in that behalf, when our pleasure is to call for them. We, therefore, by the tenor of these presents, will and require you, that ye permitt and suffer from henceforthe our saide servaunte Thomas Gyles, and his deputie or deputies, and every of them, to take upp in anye Cathedrall or Collegiate Churche or Churches, and in everye other place or places of this our Realme of England and Wales, such Childe or Children, as he or they or anye of them shall finde and like of; and the same Childe and Children, by vertue hereof, for the use and service aforesaide, with them or anye of them to bringe awaye, without anye your letts, contradictions, staye or interruption, to the contrarye. Charginge and commaundinge you, and everie of you, to be aydinge, helpinge and assistinge unto the above named Thomas Gyles, and his deputie and deputies, in and about the due execution of the premisses, for the more spedie effectuall and bettar accomplisshing thereof from tyme to tyme, as you and everie of yoe do tendar our will and pleasure, and will aunswere for doinge the contrarye at your perills. Yoven under our Signet at our Manor of Grenewich, the 26th day of Aprill, in the 27th yere of our reign.

'To all and singuler Deanes, Provostes, Maisters and Wardens of Collegies, and all ecclesiasticall persons and mynisters, and to all other our officers, mynisters and subjects to whom in this case it shall apperteyne, and to everye of them greetinge.'

[1] On several future occasions, the Players of Lord Howard and two other unnamed companies obtained similar payments.

provisions supplied to the Tower, and for the reward of actors on Shrove Tuesday for a Play, the title of which is not given nor the name of the company by which it was performed: the whole sum amounted to only 12*s.*

Gray's Inn was extremely busy in 1587-8 in theatrical preparations and exhibitions. On the 16th of January in that year, a play, of which Catiline probably was the hero, and a mask, were represented in the Hall before Lord Burghley and other courtiers. The Lord Treasurer has registered the fact of his presence on the occasion, as an endorsement on a list of the characters, and of the performers of them, which he left behind him among his papers.[1] On the 28th of February following, 'the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn' presented before the Queen, at Greenwich, the tragedy of *The Misfortunes of*

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 55. It is indorsed by Lord Burghley in the following manner:—'xvj Janv. 1587. The names of the of Grays In, that playd there a Comedy befor the Lo. Burghley, L. Tr.' They are these:—

'DOMINUS DE PURPOOLE, Hatclyff.

'The Prologue	*Ellis.*
Hidaspes, the sonn	*Campion.*
Manilius, madd	*Anderton.*
Pyso	*Farnley.*
Lucius	*Ashley.*
Mummius, old man	*Topham.*
Byrria, parasite	*Staverton.*
Flamantia, curtizan	*Sandfort.*
Sr Delicato	*Sr Peter Shakerley.*
Catelyne	*Rhodes.*
Clodius	*Stanfort.*
Salust	*Crewe.*
Cato, Crassus } censors	*Hulton.* / *Williamson.*
Scilla, dictator	*Montfort.*
Cinna, 1 consul	*Davenport.*
2 consul	*Starkey.*

Arthur;[1] of the body of which Thomas Hughes was the author, Nicholas Trotte writing the induction, and 'Mr. Francis Bacon' (afterwards Lord Bacon), with others, assisting in the preparation of the dumb-shews.[2]

To about this period may be assigned the subsequent letter from Bacon (who, in 1588, discharged the office of Reader at Gray's Inn), to Lord Burghley, on the subject of a mask, which was to have been undertaken by the four Inns of Court, but which, for some unexplained reason, was not exhibited.

Tribunus Plebis . . . *Smyth.*
Melancholy . . . . . *Campion.*
Epilogue . . . . . *Ellis.*

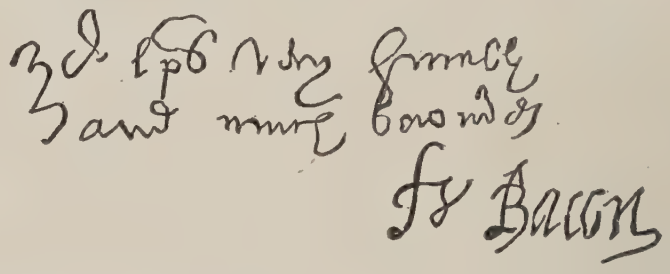
'MASQUERS.

'Rhodes . . . *Ross.*
Luttrell . . . *Peniston.*
Champnes . . . *Daye.'*

[1] Nichols, in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, does not seem to have been aware of the nature of the representations before her Majesty at Greenwich on this occasion: he merely states, that there were performances; but, in the Garrick collection, he might have found the very tragedy that was exhibited. It is contained in the later editions of Dodsley's *Old Plays*.

[2] At this date Nicholas Trotte (who is not known to have written anything but the introduction to this tragedy) was probably on intimate terms with the family of Lord Bacon. Lady Bacon, widow of Sir Nicholas Bacon, in 1594 had given him a horse, which Trotte for some cause sold; and in the *Harl. MSS.*, No. 871, is a letter from him to Lady Bacon, excusing himself for having done so, and giving the widow some account of her sons. From *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 88, arts. 21, 22, and 24, we learn that, in 1601, Lord Bacon was in debt to Nicholas Trotte to the amount of 1800*l.* His creditor had applied for the payment of the money, but could not obtain it: Lord Bacon (then Mr. Francis Bacon, and a Member of Parliament) in his letter enters into some explanations on the subject of his debt, and, on certain conditions, Trotte consented to allow him time.

'Yt may please your good L. I am sory the joynt maske from the fowr Innes of Court faileth: whearin I conceyve thear is no other ground of that event, but impossibility. Neverthelesse, bycause it falleth owt, that at this tyme Graies Inne is well furnyshed of galant young gentlemen, y^r^ Lp. may be pleased to know, that rather then this occasion shall passe withowt some demonstration of affection from the Innes of Court, thear are a dozen gentlemen of Graies Inne, that owt of the honor which they bear to your L. and my L. Chamberlayne, to whome at theyr last maske they were so much bownden, will be ready to furnysh a maske, wyshing it were in their powers to performe it according to theyr mynds. And so for the present I humbly take my leave, resting



The charges of the Royal Revels, as they appear in the account of the Master of that office, 'from the last of Octo-
A. D. ber 1587,[1] in A° 29^mo^ regni Elizabethæ, until the last
1587. of October 1589, anno 31^mo^ Dmæ Reginæ', including therefore the space of two years, were only 506*l.* 9*s.* 7¼*d.* Between Christmas and Shrovetide 1587-8, seven plays were performed, one of which was that before mentioned by 'the gentlemen of Grayes Inne', and the rest were by 'the Children of Poules' and 'her Majesty's own Servaunts', but the titles of none of the pieces are inserted. 'Feats of activity and other shews' are also spoken of in the account.

[1] The neighbourhood of 'The Theatre', beyond Shoreditch Church, was at this period made a place of public execution, and Stowe in his *Chronicle*, under date of the 28 August 1587, states that W. Gunten, was hanged '*at the Theatre*' as a papist, and for aiding and abetting the Roman Catholics. On the 5 October another man was hanged there.

The same number of plays were performed before the Queen at the same season 1588-9, by the Queen's Players, the Children of Pauls and the Lord Admiral's men, together with 'feats of activity, tumbling and matachines', in which Symmons, the tumbler before mentioned, exhibited. In this instance, also, the names of all the pieces are wanting. The items, with few exceptions, are made out in general terms: one of the exceptions is 'for the faire writing of all the devises in two copies for the Queen', for which 10*s.* are charged by a scribe.

That there were revels at Greenwich in November 1588, is established by the following entry, in the books of the Stationers' Company, of a tract intended for publication:—'The Devyse before the Quenes Majestie at her Court at Greenwich, the 12th Nov: 1588.' If such a production were printed, its existence is not at present known.

The statement of the Revels from 1587 to 1589 likewise contains a singular and novel article belonging to the latter year; viz., a splendid mask, with all its appurtenances, sent by the Queen into Scotland on the marriage of King James. The total expense of this present is not furnished, but the account of the materials, etc., of which it consisted, is headed as follows:—

'Betweene the of September 1589, a° regni R^næ^ Eliz:, and the of the same September, for the furnishing of a mask for six maskers and six torchbearers, and of such persons as were to utter speeches at the shewing of the same maske, sent into Scotland to the King of Scotts mariage, by her Majestie's commaundement, signified unto the M^r^ and other officers of this office by the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chamberleyn and Mr. Vicechamberleine: the charges, as well for workmanshipp and attendance, as for wares delivered & brought into this office for and about the same, hereafter particulerly insueth.'

The particulars of the dresses and materials are inserted below in a note.[1]

Strype, in his edition of *Stow's Survey*, speaking of the number of companies of players retained as the servants of the nobility, says that it was not unusual for them to be 'put down', 'upon any gentleman's complaint of them for abuses, or indecent reflections'; and, in proof, he refers to an instance in the year 1589, when the Lord Admiral's and Lord Strange's men were silenced, 'because one Mr. Tylney had utterly, for some reasons, disliked them'. Strype does not seem to have adverted to the fact that this '*one* Mr. Tylney' was the Master of the Revels, whose duty it was to watch over the conduct of the players, and who, it will be evident from what follows, must have made representations to Lord Burghley against the misconduct of actors in the city. The Lord Treasurer accordingly wrote to the Lord Mayor, requiring him (most unprecedently) to put a stop to *all theatrical exhibitions*

[1] A maske of six coates of purple gold tinsell, garded with purple and black clothe of silver striped. Bases of crimson clothe of gold, with pendants of maled purple silver tinsell. Twoe paire of sleves to the same of red cloth of gold, and four paire of sleves to the same of white clothe of copper, silvered. Six partletts of purple clothe of silver knotted. Six hed peces, whereof foure of clothe of gold, knotted, and twoe of purple clothe of gold braunched. Six fethers to the same hed peces. Six mantles, whereof four of oringe clothe of gold braunched. and twoe of purple and white cloth of silver braunched. Six vizardes, and six fawchins [falchions] guilded.

'Six cassocks for torche bearers of damaske; three of yellowe, and three of red, garded with red and yellowe damaske counterchaunged. Six paire of hose of damaske; three of yellowe, and three of red, garded with red and yellowe damaske counterchaunged. Six hatts of crimson clothe of gold, and six fethers to the same. Six vizardes.

'Foure heares of silke, and foure garlandes of flowers, for the attire of them that are to utter certeine speeches at the shewing of the same maske.' (*Lansd. MSS.* No. 59.)

within his jurisdiction. The city authorities, of course, proceeded with alacrity to execute these orders; but, although the anonymous correspondent of Sir F. Walsingham, three years before, had mentioned four companies by name, and had asserted, that in the whole the number of players in the city amounted to two hundred, the Lord Mayor, in Nov. 1589 (strange to say), could then only 'hear of' two companies, and one of those refused to obey his injunctions. The answer of the Lord Mayor to Lord Burghley is extant in the following form :—

'My very ho: good lord. Where by a letter of your Lordships, directed to Mr. Yonge, it appered unto me, that it was your ho: pleasure I sholde geve order for the staie of all playes within the cittie, in that Mr. Tilney did utterly mislike the same. According to which your Lordships good pleasure, I presentlye sent for suche players as I coulde heare of; so as there appered yesterday before me the Lord Straunges players; to whome I speciallie gave in charge, and required them in her Majesty's name, to forbere playinge untill further order might be geven for theire allowance in that respect: Whereuppon the Lord Admiralls players very dutifullie obeyed: but the others, in very contemptuous manner departing from me, wente to the Crosse Keys, and played that afternoone to the greate offence of the better sorte, that knew they were prohibited by order from your Lordship. Which as I might not suffer, so I sent for the said contemptuous persons, who having no reason to alleadge for their contempte, I could do no less but this evening committ tow of them to one of the Compters, and do meane, according to your Lordships direction, to prohibite all playing until your Lordships pleasure therein be further knowen. And thus resting further to trouble your Lordship, I moste humblie take my leave. At London the sixte of November 1589.

'Yr Lordships moste humble

'John Harte, maior.'[1]

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.* No. 60.

By other means we are enabled to arrive at the ground of the objections of Tylney, Master of the Revels, to the proceedings of the players. They had, in fact, introduced *matters of state and religion* into their performances. At this date the Marprelate contest was at its height, and Tylney's complaint, and Lord Burghley's interference, may be accounted for by reference to a tract by Thomas Nash, printed in the year when the players in London were silenced by the Lord Treasurer: hence it appears, not only that Martin Marprelate had been brought upon the public stage, but an account is given of the precise manner in which he was exhibited. In Nash's *Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England*, 1589, occurs the following sentence :—'Methought *Vetus Comœdia* began to pricke him at London in the right vaine, when shee brought foorth *Divinitie* with a scratcht face, holding of her hart, as if she were sicke, because *Martin* would have forced her; but myssing of his purpose, he left the print of his nayles upon her cheekes, and poysoned her with a vomit, which he ministred unto her to make her cast uppe her dignities and promotions.'

Nash calls it *Vetus Comœdia* who brought Martin Marprelate on the stage 'at London',[1] because the performance was evidently in the nature of an old Moral, not partaking of the improvements which, in 1589, had been introduced into our dramatic poetry. It was this performance which occasioned the temporary inhibition of plays in the City by the authority of the Chief Magistrate; and Nash, in the same tract from which we have just quoted, himself informs us of this conse-

[1] This incident is also alluded to in a tract called *A Countercuffe given to Martin, Junior*, printed in 1589, where it is said 'the *Anatomie* lately taken of him, the blood and the humors that were taken from him by lancing and worming him at London upon the common stage', had discomfited him.

quence. 'I have (he adds, some pages afterwards) a tale to tell in her eare of the slye practice that was used in restraining of her', meaning *Vetus Comœdia*, who had ventured to represent upon the stage a matter of state and religion.

John Lyly also, the author of *Pap with an Hatchet*, a pamphlet written, like that of Nash, against the Martinists, and printed before 1590,[1] alludes, though not quite so distinctly, to the same incident in theatrical history. Nash only notices the production of one piece; but, according to Lyly, several upon the same theme had been prepared, although they were not allowed to be performed. 'Would (says he) those comedies might be allowed to be plaid *that are penned*, and then I am sure he [Martin Marprelate] would be decyphered, and so, perhaps, discouraged: he shall not be brought in, as whilom he was, and yet very well, with a cock's combe, an ape's face, a wolfes bellie, cats clawes, &c., but in a cap'de cloake, and all the best apparel he ware the highest day in the yeare. A stage-player, though he be but a cobler by occupation, yet his chaunce may bee to play the king's part: Martin, of what calling soever he be, can play nothing but the knave's part. Would it not be a fine tragedie, when *Mardocheus* shall play a Bishoppe in a play, and Martin Hamman; and that he that seekes to pull downe those that are set in high authoritie above him, should be hoisted upon a tree above all other?'

The marginal note, opposite the last interrogation, is important: it is this—'If he be shewed at Paules it will cost you four-pence: at the Theatre twopence: at Sainct Thomas a Watrings, nothing.' Here we see named the very theatres

[1] It has no date on the title-page, but it is ascertained to have been published before 1590, by the fact that it is mentioned with high praise by Nash in his *First part of Pasquill's Apology*, which bears the date of that year.

at which dramatic productions upon the subject of the dispute between Martinists and the Bishops had been represented—viz., at St. Paul's by the dramatic children, and by actors at the Theatre in Shoreditch. St. Thomas a Watrings was a place of execution, and it is truly said, that any body could see Martin 'hoisted upon a tree' there for nothing, although at St. Paul's (where the boys of the choir performed) it would cost four-pence, and at the Theatre two-pence to see him so exhibited.

Chalmers was aware of the consequence, though not of the cause; for he speaks[1] of the appointment of Commissioners in 1589, to assist Tylney in the reformation of tragedies and comedies; and he quotes from the Registers of the Privy Council three letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Mayor of London, and the Master of the Revels, upon the subject, requiring the first to name a person 'well learned in divinity', the second to choose 'a sufficient person learned and of judgment', and the last to act in conjunction with those two commissioners in inspecting and licensing *all plays* to be acted 'in and about the city of London'. It is to be remarked, that these three letters were dated on the 12th November 1589, only six days after the Lord Mayor had written to Lord Burghley, to inform him, that he had called before him the servants of the Lord Admiral and Lord Strange. These important communications are subjoined in a note.[2]

[1] *Apology for the Believers*, p. 483.

[2] Nov. 12, 1589. A letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.—'That whereas there hathe growne some inconvenience by common playes and enterludes in & about the cyttie of London, in [that] the players take upon [them] to handle in their plaies certen matters of Divinytie and State, unfitt to be suffered: for redresse whereof their Lordships have thought good to appointe some persons of judgment and understanding to viewe and examine their playes before they be permitted to present them publickly. His Lordship is desired that some fytt person, well learned in divinity, be appointed by him, to joyne with the Mr. of the

If these commissioners were appointed, and forthwith proceeded in the discharge of their duties, we are without information of the manner in which they executed them; and we are also totally ignorant of the time when their services were discontinued: subsequent to this date we never hear of them. Perhaps, after they had performed the immediate object for which they were appointed, their services were no

Revelles, and one other to be nominated by the L: Maior, and they joyntly with some spede to viewe and consider of such Comedyes and Tragedies as are and shall be publickly played by the companies of players in and about the Cittie of London; and they to geve allowance of such as they shall thinke meete to be played, and to forbyd the rest.'

To the Lord Mayor of London.—'That whereas their Lordships have already signifyed unto him to appoint a sufficient person, learned and of judgement, for the Cittie of London, to joyne with the Mr. of the Revelles, and with a Divine to be nominated by the Lord Archb. of Cant: for the reforminge of the plaies daylie exercysed and presented publickly in & about the Cittie of London, wherein the players take upon them, without judgment or decorum, to handle matters of Divinitie and State. He is required, if he have not as yet made choice of such a person, that he will soe do forthwith, and thereof geve knowledge to the Lord Archb. and the Mr. of the Revelles, that they may meet accordingly.'

To the Master of the Revels.—'Requiring him with two others, the one to be appointed by the Lord Archb. of Canterbury, and the other by the Lord Maior of London, to be men of learning and judgment, and to call before them the severall companies of players (whose servaunts soever they be), and to require them by authorytie hereof to deliver unto them their books, that they may consider of the matters of their Comedyes and Tragedyes, and thereuppon to stryke out or reforme such parte and matters, as they shall fynd unfytt and undecent to be handled in plaies both for Divinitie and State: commanding the said Companies of players in her Majesties name, that they forbear to present and play publickly any Comedy or Tragedy, other than such as they three shall have seene and allowed: which if they shall not observe, they shall lett them know from their Lordships, that they shalbe not onely severely punished, but made [in]capable of the exercise of their profession for ever hereafter.'

longer required, and the control of all matters relating to the stage might be again left to the Master of the Revels, who had shown such alacrity in calling the attention of the government to the evil. The total prohibition of playing by the Lord Mayor was only temporary, however much the corporation might wish it to be permanent.

In 1589, Lord Burghley seems to have been engaged in introducing some new and economical regulations into the Queen's household; and in an account of the ordinary and extraordinary payments in that department, in the handwriting of the Lord Treasurer, it is stated that in that year the Musicians retained by Elizabeth cost 616*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* per annum.[1]

The general order of the Privy Council in 1583, after the accident at Paris Garden, that no plays should be acted on Sunday in London and its vicinity, seems to have been generally effectual for its purpose, until October 1587, when some of the inhabitants of Southwark complained that plays and interludes were still represented on the Sabbath, 'especially within the liberty of the Clink, and within the parish

[1] Among the *Cotton. MSS.* there are several without date, relating to the Musicians of Elizabeth, which are to be referred to about this period, or a little earlier. Gioseffo Lupo, an instrumental performer, petitioned the Queen for an increase of salary, alleging *Vi ha piaciuto promettergli qualche augmento di gagio.* He subsequently repeated his claim for higher wages, and preferment, asserting that he had served her Majesty for fifteen years. (*Cotton. MSS. Titus, B.* ii.) About the same time Gli Fratelii Bassani prayed the Queen that one year's salary due to their brother Edward, and which for some cause had been withheld, might be paid. Pietro Lupo, a performer upon the violin, *Cotton. MSS. Titus, B,* viii, entreated the interposition of an unnamed person with Sir Thomas Henneage, for the advance of a quarter's wages, *perche io sono tornato di Alamagna senza haver potuto prevalermi di alcuni miei crediti di quel paese.* In another letter he entreats to be allowed to return to his service at Court, from whence he had withdrawn himself.

of St. Saviours.' On the 29th October, therefore (as appears by the Registers), the Privy Council wrote to the Magistrates of Surrey and Middlesex, requiring them to take strict order for the prevention of such disobedience. Nevertheless on Sunday, 11th June 1592, a riot took place in Southwark, headed by the servants of the Felt-makers' company and others, for the purpose of rescuing a person who had been committed to the Marshalsea; and the Lord Mayor (William Webbe), in a letter to Lord Burghley,[1] dated on the following day, asserts that 'the sayed companies assembled themselves by occasion and pretence of their meeting at a play, which besides the breach of the Sabboth day, giveth opportunitie of committing these and such like disorders.' In 1592, therefore, plays were still performed sometimes on Sunday.[2]

Prior to the year 1591, but how much earlier cannot be ascertained, the performances by the Children of Paul's in their singing school, were suppressed. Malone asserts, unqualifiedly, that this event occurred in 1583-4;[3] but the earliest authority on the point is dated 1591, viz., the address of the printer before Lyly's play, *Endymion*, published in that year. 'Since (he says) the plays in Pauls were dissolved, there are certain comedies come to my hands', etc., speaking as if it were a recent event. We know, likewise, that several of

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 71.

[2] In a letter from the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, dated 25th July 1591 (See Chalmers's *Apology*, p. 379), the Lords notice the neglect of the order against playing on the Sabbath day, and they go on to state that the representation of interludes, etc., on other days of the week, was 'a great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting and like pastimes, which are maintained for her Majesty's pleasure if occasion require'. They therefore direct that no plays shall be shown either on Sundays or on Thursdays, 'because on the Thursdays these other games usually have been always accustomed and practised'.

[3] See note on *Hamlet*, act ii, scene 2.

Lyly's pieces were represented by the children of St. Paul's subsequent to 1584. Malone also quotes Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612, to show that the performances by boys at St. Paul's were forbidden on account of the personal abuse and scurrility put into 'the mouths of children'; but this piece of evidence would apply equally to the children of the Revels.[1] The cause of the suppression must, therefore, re-

[1] The whole passage in Heywood's *Apology for Actors* runs thus, and the reader will see that he points at no particular company of youthful performers.

'Now to speak of some abuse lately crept into the quality, as an inveighing against the state, the court, the law, the city and their governments, with the particularising of private men's humours, yet alive, noblemen and others, I know it distastes many; neither do I any way approve it, nor dare by any means excuse it. The liberty which some arrogate to themselves, committing their bitterness and liberal invectives against all estates to the mouths of children, supposing their juniority to be a privilege for any railing, be it never so violent, I could advise all such to curb and limit this presumed liberty within the bands of discretion and government. But wise and judicial censurers, before whom such complaints shall at any time hereafter come, will not, I hope, impute these abuses to any transgression in us, who have ever been careful and provident to shun the like.'

We are to recollect, that at the time when *Hamlet* was first produced (perhaps late in 1602, or early in 1603), the children of the Revels performed, as an independent and rival body, at the Blackfriars Theatre, as well as the full-grown company to which Shakespeare belonged; and we entertain little doubt, that the poet meant his attack for the children of the Revels, and not for the children of Paul's. Malone says, 'our author cannot be supposed to direct any satire at 'those young men who played occasionally at his own theatre': why not? especially if they were more 'the fashion', 'berattled the common stages', and attracted larger audiences.

The 4to *Hamlet* of 1693, in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, and which, we think, was demonstrably published in haste from a short-hand copy, taken from the mouths of the players, was not discovered when Malone fixed the date of the production of *Hamlet* in 1600.

main in doubt, as we are not aware of the existence of any testimony, direct or indirect, upon the point, unless it arose out of the manner in which the children of Paul's had brought Martin Marprelate on their stage in 1589, as already mentioned. In his *Have with you to Saffron Waldon*, 1596, Nash states that the interdict had not even then been taken off, for he expresses a wish to see 'the plays at Pauls up again.' It had been removed prior to 1600, because a piece called *The Maids Metamorphosis*, attributed to Lyly, was 'acted by the Children of Powles' and printed in that year. In *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, first published in 1601, the following dialogue occurs respecting their audiences and their plays.

'*Sir Edw. Fortune.* I saw the children of Powles last night,
And, troth, they pleas'd me pretty, pretty well:
The apes in time will do it handsomely.'

'*Planet.* I'faith, I like the audience that frequenteth there,
With much applause. A man shall not be choked
With the stench of garlick, nor be pasted
To the barmy jacket of a beer brewer.'

'*Brabant, Jun.* 'Tis a good gentle audience, and I hope the boys
Will come one day into the Court of Requests.

'*Brabant, Sen.* Aye; an they had good plays; but they produce
Such musty fopperies of antiquity,
And do not suit the humorous age's back
With clothes in fashion.'

Hence we may infer that the performance by the children of Paul's had not long recommenced, because it is remarked that they wanted practice—'the apes in time will do it hand-

At the conclusion of the reprint of *Mucedorus* in 1610, and, perhaps, in earlier editions, will be found a striking illustration of what is above said by Heywood. The personality is there obvious and offensive, and, perhaps, applies to the Children of the Revels.

somely :'—they, perhaps, acted before 1601, chiefly 'musty fopperies of antiquity', because, during their long silence, they had not been able to furnish themselves with pieces that would 'suit the humorous age's back with clothes in fashion.' Marston, Dekker, and others, soon provided them with more modern and more attractive plays, and the *Antonio and Mellida* of the first, and the *Satiromastix* of the last, were acted there in, or before, 1602. The conclusion, from all the existing evidence, seems to be, that the interdict was imposed about 1589 or 1590, and withdrawn about 1600. When, in the preceding quotation, Brabant junior expresses a hope that the boys of Paul's 'will come one day into the Court of Requests', he means, that they will again be in *request* for performances at *Court*, as they formerly had been.

In 1591, Queen Elizabeth paid a visit to Lord Burghley at Theobalds, where, it seems, she was received with much solemnity, although the Lord Treasurer did not himself make his appearance to welcome her. In March 1587, he had lost his mother at a very advanced age, and in April 1589, his wife, to whom he was deeply attached, died : in the interval, also, his daughter, Lady Oxford, had expired; so that in 1591, depressed by these misfortunes, he had resolved to retire from public life, and the visit of the Queen was, perhaps, intended to revive his spirits, and to recall him to her active service.[1] Mr. Nichols, in his *Progresses*, under this date, relates all that was known upon this point; and, without being able to explain it, inserts from Strype a sort of mock writ or summons, directed to Sir Christopher Hatton, the object of which was, by a little official playfulness, to withdraw Lord Burghley from his

[1] Thomas Lodge, in the *Second Epilogue between Philides and Eglon*, published in 1593, makes the latter endeavour to persuade the former, (who is meant for Burghley) to quit his retirement and again to give his country the benefit of his services. Eglon was Lodge himself.

seclusion: in that document he is spoken of *as a Hermit;* and it seems clear, that since the death of his wife, two years and some months anterior, he had quitted his new and noble mansion, and, making only occasional visits to Court, had resided in the neighbourhood of Theobalds.

A MS. poem, in blank verse, has fallen into our hands, which serves to explain the whole proceeding: it is a speech supposed to be delivered by a Hermit to the Queen, on her first arrival at Theobalds, the purpose of which was to excuse the absence of Lord Burghley, by stating that he had taken up his abode in the cell belonging to the Hermit, in consequence of his grief, and had enjoined the Hermit to do the honours of his house in his stead. Robert Cecill, knighted just afterwards, was the person who pronounced the speech, and he referred to it when the Queen again came to Theobalds in 1594. It was written by a poet no less distinguished than George Peele, who was employed by Lord Burghley's son to aid the scheme; for the mock writ, before mentioned, which puzzled Strype, and as, he says, defied commentary, is besought by the individual in the disguise of a hermit. The whole piece is in the poet's handwriting, and his initials, G. P., are subscribed at the end.[1] It refers to other points (among them, to the defeat of the Spanish Armada), which will be easily understood: however interesting, as it would occupy too much space in the text, we have subjoined the whole of

[1] The circumstance of his having been employed, and successfully, on this occasion, may have emboldened Peele, in 1596, to make a charitable appeal to Lord Burghley, when, in extreme poverty, he sent to his lordship the *Tale of Troy*. See a fac-simile of Peele's letter, from *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 99, in the second edition of *Peele's Works*, by the Rev. A. Dyce. That letter is in the Italian hand, then most fashionable, but Peele also wrote the small common English hand: the body of this poem was in the latter, and some corrections in the former.

this remarkable production in a note.[1] It was unknown to Dyce when he published his edition of Peele's Works, and it is now in the library of Frederic Ouvry, Esq., late President of the Society of Antiquaries.

[1] It has no title nor introduction, but commences thus:—

'My soverayn Lady, & most gratious Queene,
Be not displeased, that won [one] so meanly clad
Presumes to stand thus bowldly in the way
That leades into this howse, accownted yours:
But myld, and full of pytty as you ar,
Hear & respect my lamentable tale.
I am a hermitt that this x yeares space
Have led a sollytarye & retyred lyfe,
Here in my cell, not past a furlonge hence,
Tyll by my fownder, he that buylt this howse,
Forgettfull of his wryghttynge & his woord,
Full sore agaynst my wyll, I was removed;
For he, oretaken with excessive greefe,
Betooke hym to my sylly hermytage,
And there hath lyued two yeeres & som few monethes,
By reason of these most bitter accidents.
As, fyrst of all, his aged Mother's deathe,
Who lyved a fyfte, & saw her fower discents
Of those that linneally have sproong from her:
His daughters deathe, a countess of this land,
Lost in the pryme & mornynge of her yowthe;
And last of all his deare & loveinge wyfe.
These broght him to this solitary aboade,
Wher now he keepes, & hath injoyned me
To govern this his howse & famely:
A place unfitt for on [one] of my professyne;
And therfore have I ofte desyred with teares,
That I myght be restored to my cell,
Becawse I vowed a lyfe contemplatyve:
But all in vayn; for though to serve your Matie
He often quyttes the place and coms to cowrte,
Yett thether he repayres, & ther wyll lyve.

In a tract, attributed (like 'Leicester's *Common Wealth*') to Parsons the Jesuit, we believe, printed abroad, in 1592, A. D. 1592. and of which various MS. copies were circulated in England, we find the following paragraph, complaining that

> Which I perceaving, sought by holly prayers
> To chaynge his mind, & eas my troubled cares;
> Then, haveinge many dayes with sacred rytes
> Prepard my selfe to entertayn good thoughts,
> I went up to the lantern of this halle,
> The better to behowld godds woorks above;
> And, sooddenly, when my devotion gan
> To perce the heavens, that [there] did appear to me
> A lady clad in whyte, who closed my eyes,
> And castyng me into a slumberyng traunce,
> I am, sayd shee, that holly prophetes
> Who sung the byrthe of Chryste ere he appeerd:
> Sibilla is my name, and I have hard
> The mone thou makst for thy unqwyet lyfe.
> Take thou this table, note the verces well:
> Every fyrst gowlden letter of thes lynes,
> Beeinge put together, sygnyfye her name
> That can & wyll releve thy mysserye:
> And therfore presently go serche her out—
> A pryncely parragon, a mayden Queene,
> For suche a won ther is and only won.
> And therwithall shee vanysht was agen.
> After this vyssyon, commyng down from thence,
> The brute was that your Magestie would come;
> But yet my fownder kept his hermytage,
> And gave me warrant to provyde for all,
> A taske unfyttyng one so base as I,
> Whom neither sons nor servantts would obay;
> The yoonger lyke to scorne my poor advyce,
> Becawsse that he hearafter in this place
> Was to becom the gardian of this howsse,
> And so the same to settle in his blood,
> By that yoong babe, whome I have hard of late
> By your appoyntment beares my fownders name.

players had been allowed in England to 'scoff and jest' at the King of Spain, and at the Roman Catholic religion, with impunity. The writer is speaking of the support received by

> Therfore I wyshe, for my good fownders sake,
> That he may lyve with this his fyrst born soon,
> Long tyme to serve your sacred Matie,
> As his grandfather faythefully hathe doon.
> Now, synce you know my most distressed plyght,
> My gardian's carelessnes, which cam by care,
> I humblye crave thes versses may be red,
> Whose capital letters make ELIZABETH,
> By yow my noble Lo. hyghe Admirall ;
> The rather for this great prophetes
> Seemed unto me as if shee had foretowld
> Your famous victorye ore that Spannishe Navye,
> Which by themselves was termed Invyncyble ;
> Seeinge in thes lynes your pryncely name is wrett,
> The miracle of tyme, and nature's glorye.
> As yow ar shee of whom Sibilla spake
> Voutchsafe to pytty this your beadmans playnt,
> And call my fownder home unto his howse,
> That he may entertayn your Majestie,
> And see thes walks, whearin he lyttle joyes,
> Delyghtfull for your hyghnes & your trayne ;
> Wherein lykewyse his ij soones that be present
> Wilbe both dewtyfull and dyllygent ;
> And this young La. Veare, that helld so deer,
> Of my best fownder, her good grandfather.
> And lastly for my sellfe, most gratious Queene,
> May it pleas yow to restore me to my cell,
> And at your hyghnes absolute command
> My L. hyghe Chanceler may award a wrytt
> For peaceable possession of the same :
> And that [your] Majesties L. Chamberlayn
> May from your hyghnes have the lyke command,
> To cawse my fownder, now the gardian
> Of this howsse, increast for your delyght,
> To take the charge thereof this present nyght.

the Turks from England, at the time when the war was pending between the Ottoman Power and Spain, and he proceeds as follows:—

'And therefore as an introduction hereunto, to make him [the King of Spain] odious unto the people, certaine players were suffered to scoffe and jeast at him uppon their common stages; and the like was used in the contempt of his Religion, first by making it no better then Turkish, by annexing unto the Psalmes of David, as though the prophet him selfe had bene the author thereof, this ensuinge meeter:—

'Preserve us, Lord, by thy deare word,
From Turke and Pope defend us, Lord,
That both would thrust out of his throne
Our lord Jesus Christ thy deare sonne.'[1]

On the 20th Feb. 1591-2, Sir Tho. Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer to the Queen, was directed to pay the servants of the Earl of Hertford 'for a plaie enacted before her Ma^tie on twelfe night last past the some of ten Pounds.

Which beeing doon, Ill to my hermytage,
And for your hyghnes pray contynewally,
That god may powre uppon yow all his blessyngs,
And that the hower glas of your happie raygne
May roon at full, and never be at wayne.
Thus haveinge nowght of vallew, or of worthe,
Fytt to present to suche a peerles Queene,
I offer to your hyghnes, here, this bell,
A bell which hermytts call S^t. Anthonie,
Gyven me by my noble Lord and fownder,
And Ill betake me to this brazen bell,
Which better me beseemes ten M foold,
Then any one of syllver or of goold.
FINIS. G. P.'

[1] From a MS. entitled 'A Declaration of the true causes of the greate troubles supposed to be intended ag^t. the Realme of England, wherein the indifferent Reader shall manifestly perceive by whome, and by what meanes, the Realme is brought into pretended perills.'—1592.

'To the servants of the Lord Strange for severall plaies by them enacted before her Ma^tie^ at the Court at White Hall on St. Johns daie, Inocents daie, Sonday next after twelfe daie, Shrove Sondaie and Shrove Tuesdaie, the some of fortie pounds; and by waie of her Ma^ties^ reward twentie pounds.' The servants of the Earl of Sussex were to receive 'for a plaie enacted before her Ma^tie^ on Sondaie next after New Yeares daie, being the 2d of January last, the some of tenne poundes'.

These facts we derive from separate entries in Registers of the Privy Council.

The same Council Register, under date of 29th July 1593, also contains the copy of a letter by the Lords to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, in strict accordance with that which, as long since as the 30th October 1575, they had sent to the same authority. After stating at some length the necessity of keeping pure the fountains from which learning flowed to all parts of the kingdom, it forbids that 'plays, or enterludes of common players, be used or set forth', either in the University or within five miles round it, and especially in the town of Chesterton. This renewed order was produced by the following circumstances and correspondence.

A. D. 1593.

From a letter preserved at Lambeth, dated 21 Nov. 1592, from a person named Edward Jones to Anthony Bacon, it appears that Lord Burghley had been prevailed upon, for a time at least, to return to Court: it says, 'My Lord (Burghley), God be thanked, is in health, and newly come from Hunsdon, where he hath been very honourably feasted and entertained with musicke, *playes*, and other delights.'

On the 1st September 1592, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge and certain Justices of the Peace, had issued a warrant to the Constable of Cambridge, opening thus: 'Whereas, there be certaine persons, lately repayred unto the University

and towne of Cambridge, having in purpose, either there, or in some other place there nere unto, by the shewing of certeine Interludes, Plaies or Tragedies, to procure the assemblie of her Majesty's subjects and people' : it then goes on to direct, that all the inhabitants shall be ordered not to further the design, by allowing the players to occupy any 'roomes, houses or yardes', and that they shall be warned to proceed at their peril in their undertakings.

The players nevertheless did perform at Chesterton; and on the 8th of September, Dr. Some, the Vice-Chancellor, wrote to the Privy Council, reciting the letter of October 1575, and adding, that 'certaine light persons, pretending themselves to be her Majesties Plaiers,[1] &c., did take boldness, not onely here to proclaime their Enterludes (by setting up of writings about our college gates), but also actually at Chesterton to play the same, which is a village within the compasse of the jurisdiction graunted to us by her Majesties charter,[2] and situated hard by the plott where Sturbridge fair is kept'. The Vice-Chancellor then complains, that the Constable, to whom

[1] According to Camden's *Annals*, the plague raged in London in the autumn of 1592 : the theatres were consequently closed, which may account for the wandering of the Queen's Players into the country.

[2] This Charter had been granted by Elizabeth, in the third year of her reign, and it limits the bounds of the University to one mile round the town of Cambridge. Henry III, in the 54th year of his reign, had granted letters patent, that *torneamenta aliqua, aventuræ, justæ seu cujusmodi hastiludia non fiant in villa prædicta, seu per quinque milliaria circumquaque.*

It appears by *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 33, that on the 22nd April 1581, a disturbance had taken place at Chesterton, between the Proctors of the University and a Bearward, who asserted his right to exhibit there as 'the Lord Vaux's man.' The offending parties afterwards made their submission, but Dr. Andrew Perne, Vice-Chancellor, wrote to Lord Burghley, claiming a jurisdiction five miles round Cambridge, under the letters patent of Henry III.

the warrant had been directed, had neglected his duty, and requires the Privy Council to call before it the Players, the Constable, and the 'party in whose house the interludes were played', in order that they might be duly punished.

It is most likely that this communication did not produce the desired effect, for ten days afterwards, we find Dr. Some, backed by Dr. Legge, Dr. Goade, and five other heads of colleges, repeating the complaint, with fresh particulars, against Lord North, and Dutton the player, who had treated their authority with contempt. After referring to the warrant of the 1st September, the Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues proceed in these terms :—

'How slightly that warrant was regarded, as well by the Constables and thinhabitants of Chesterton, as by the Players themselves (whereof one Dutton is a principal), appeared by their bills sett up upon our colledge gates, and by their playeing in Chesterton, notwithstanding our said warrant to the contrary. One of the Constables tould us, that he heard the Players saye, that they were licenced by the Lord Northe to playe in Chesterton. We cannot chardge his Lordship otherwise with that particuler ; but wee are able to justify, that the Lord Northe, upon like occasion heretofore, being made acquainted with the said letters of the Lords of the Counsell, retorned aunswere in writinge, that those letters were no perpetuity. And likewise also in this very action, when the Players came to him for his Lordships allowance for their playeinge in Chesterton, and some of us did then tell his Lordship, that wee had the Lords of the Counsells letters to the contrary, he openly uttered, in the hearinge aswell of the Players as of diverse Knights and Gentlemen of the Shier then present, that the date of those letters was almost expired. And he said then further to the Players, that althoughe they should play at Chesterton, yet the Vicechancellor durst not commit them therefore.'

They conclude (leaving 'the correction of the contempt' to the wisdom of the Privy Council) by soliciting the renewal of

the letter of 1575, in order that Lord North and the players might be deprived of the plea, that the date of it had nearly expired.[1] Thus the matter seems to have rested until the 17th of July (1593), when the Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues[2] reminded Lord Burghley of the general complaint against 'public shews and common plays', A. D. and prayed that the University might be freed from 1593. actors, 'that *badd kinde of people* who are (as wee thinke) the most ordinary cariers and dispersers' of the infection of the plague.[3] The renewed letter was dispatched twelve days afterwards; and it will be observed that it conceded all that

[1] Lord North, who lived at Kirtling, a short distance from Cambridge, was a great favourer of players. Extracts from a book containing his household expenses were published by the Antiquarian Society: they begin in January 1st, 1575, and come down to January 1582. He had no players of his own, but those of the nobility not unfrequently visited his mansion, and were rewarded as usual, as the following extracts will establish:—

'July 1576. Lord Sussex Minstrells . 5*s.*
Dec. 3d, 1577. To my Lo. Howards Plaiers . 5*s.*
Nov. 4, 1578. Lo: Lesters Plaiers . . 40*s.*
May, 1550. To my L. of Lesters Plaiers . 25*s.*'

[2] *Vide Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 82, where this correspondence is to be found at large.

[3] The plague continued to rage in the summer and autumn of 1593, and Michaelmas Term was held in consequence at St. Alban's. The following regulation (as is stated in the Register) was presented to the Privy Council:—

'That for avoyding of great concourse of people, which causeth increase of the infection, it were convenient that all Playes, Beare-baytings, Cockpitts, common Bowling alleyes, and such like unnecessarie assemblies, should be suppressed during the time of infection, for that infected people after their long keepinge in, and before they be cleered of their disease and infection, being desirous of recreation, use to resort to such assemblies, where through heate and thronge they infect many sound personnes.'

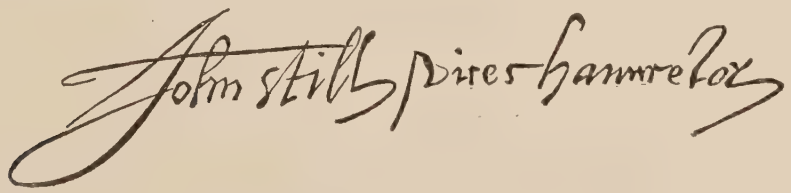
was demanded, giving the Vice-Chancellor power, in the town of Cambridge and for five miles round it, to put down 'interludes and plays, some of them being full of lewd examples, and most of vanity'. On the same day (29th July 1593), a similar letter was despatched to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, though it does not seem to have been called for by any corresponding events there.

We must now look at the University of Cambridge, and within three months interval, in a very different capacity,—as the performers of plays, and with a Vice-Chancellor who was the author of one of the very earliest comedies in our language. In December 1592, Dr. John Still, the author of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, was at the head of the University of Cambridge; and a command was received from London, that a comedy in English should be got up there for the amusement of the Queen, as, in consequence of the prevalence of the plague, her own actors could not play before her at Christmas. It is somewhat singular, that such an order should have been given after what had so recently transpired, and it almost looks as if Elizabeth and her courtiers intended it as a sort of reproof to the University: it is remarkable also, that Dr. Still, the writer of a comedy in English, which was acted before the Queen at Christ's College in 1566, should be the chief instrument in making the request, that the play should be in Latin, as 'more beseeming the students'. This request is contained in a letter, signed by Dr. Still as Vice-Chancellor, and six others, of which the following is a copy:—

'Right Honorable.—Our most humble duties remembered. Upon Saturday last, being the second of December, we receaved lres from Mr. Vicechamberlein, by a Messinger sent purposely, wherein, by reason that her Majesties owne servants in this time of infection may not disport her Highnes with their wonted and ordinary pastimes, his Honor hath moved our University (as he writeth that he hath

also done the other of Oxford), to prepare a Comedie in Englishe, to be acted before her Highnes by some of our Students in this time of Christmas. How ready wee are to do any thing that may tend to her Majesties pleasure, wee are very desirous by all meanes to testify; but how fitt we shall be for this is moved, having no practise in this Englishe vaine, and beinge (as wee think) nothing beseminge our Students, specially oute of the University, wee much doubt: and do find our principale actors (whome wee have of purpose called before us) very unwilling to playe in Englishe. Wherefore wee thought it not onely our duties to give intelligence hereof unto your Lordship, as being our chiefe hedd and governor, but also very expedient for us to crave your Lordships wisdome, either to dissuade the matter withoute any displeasure unto us, yf wee shall not seeme meete in your Lordships judgment for that purpose, or to advise us by your honorable direction what maner of argument we should chuse, and what course is best to followe. Englishe Comedies, for that wee never used any, wee presentlie have none: to make or translate one in such shortnes of time wee shall not be able: and therefore, if wee must needes undertake the busines, and that with conveniencie it may be graunted, these two things we would gladly desire: some further limitation of time for due preparation, and liberty to play in Latyn. How fitt these are to be requested or graunted, your Lordship, who well knoweth her Majesties disposition and our maner, is best able to judge: ourselves onely do move them, referring both them, and the whole cause, unto your Lordships consideration. And so, with our most harty prayers to Almightie God for your Lordships long continuance in healthe, and dayly increase in honor, wee humblie take our leaves. From the University of Cambridge, this fourthe of December 1592.[1]

'Your Lordships most humble to be comaunded,



[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 71.

This remonstrance was also subscribed by six other heads of houses:—Roger Goade, R. Some, Umphrey Tyndall, William Whitaker, Edmund Harwell, and John Jegon; and there is reason to suppose that it was effectual. In the next year, Dr. Thomas Legge (author of the Latin Tragedy of *Richard III*, so highly praised by Sir John Harington in his *Apology of Poetry*, 1591) was Vice-Chancellor; and in a communication to Lord Burghley he refers to some offence given to the Queen, probably by the preceding letter, and mentions, that the University of Cambridge had sent some of its body to Oxford, to witness the entertainment there given to her Majesty, in order to be better prepared hereafter to obey her directions.[1]

The difference, as far as we can judge, was arranged by A. D. 1594-5. the next year, when the University of Cambridge acted 'certaine comœdies and one tragœdie', and through its then Vice-Chancellor, Thomas Nevile, requested the loan of the royal robes in the Tower for this purpose.[2] This favour had been granted before, and, perhaps, on this occasion, it was not refused.

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 75.

[2] The subsequent is a copy of the letter containing this request: it is among the *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 78.

'Our bounden dutie in most humble wise remembred. Whereas we intend, for the exercise of young gentlemen & scholers in our Colledge, to set forth certaine Comœdies and one Tragœdie, there being in that Tragœdie sondry personages of greatest astate to be represented in auncient princely attire, which is nowhere to be had but within the office of the Roabes at the Tower; it is our humble request, your most honorable Lordship would be pleased to graunt your Lordships warrant unto the chiefe officers there, that upon sufficient securetie we might be furnished from thence with such meete necessaries as are required. Which favor we have found heretofore on your good Lordships like honorable warrant, that hath the rather embouldened us at this time. And so, craving pardon for this presumption, with remembrance of our dayly

The Blackfriars Theatre, built about 1574-6, seems, after the lapse of some twenty years, to have required extensive repairs, if, indeed, it were not, at the end of that period, entirely rebuilt and enlarged.[1] This undertaking, in 1596, seems to have alarmed some of the inhabitants of the Liberty; and not a few of them, 'some of honour', petitioned the Privy Council, in order that the players might not be allowed to complete it, and that their farther performances in that precinct might be prevented. A copy of the document, containing this request, is preserved in the State Paper Office, and to it is appended a much more curious and important paper—a counter petition by the Lord Chamberlain's players, entreating that they might be permitted to continue their work upon the theatre, in order to render it more commodious, and that their performances there might not be interrupted. It is unfortunately, not the original, but a copy, without any signatures; but it contains, at the commencement, an enumeration of the principal actors who were parties to it. They occur in the following order, and it will be instantly remarked, not only that the name of Shakespeare is found among them, but that he comes fifth in the enumeration :— A. D. 1596.

'Thomas Pope,
Richard Burbadge,
John Hemings,
Augustine Phillips,

---

prayers unto God for the preservation of your honorable health to his owne great glory, we humbly take our leave. From Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge, 28° January, 1594-[5],

Your Lordships most bounden, ever to be commaunded,

THOMAS NEVILE.'

[1] Among the *Losely MSS.*, published by Mr. Kempe, is a letter, which shews that a house belonging to Sir William More, or part of it, was required for the purposes of the company playing at Blackfriars: the actors last enumerated were then (1596) in high reputation.

William Shakespeare,
William Kempe,
William Slye,
Nicholas Tooley.'

This valuable paper has, perhaps, never seen the light from the moment it was presented, until it was very recently discovered. It is seven years anterior to the date of any other record containing the name of our great dramatist, and it may warrant various conjectures as to the rank he held in the company in 1596, as a poet and as a player.[1] It is in these terms :—

'To the Right Honourable the Lords of her Majesties most honourable Privy Councell.

'The humble petition of Thomas Pope, Richard Burbadge, John Hemings, Augustine Phillips, William Shakespeare, William Kempe, William Slye, Nicholas Tooley, and others, servaunts to the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine to her Majestie.

'Sheweth most humbly, that your Petitioners are owners and players of the private house, or theatre, in the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers, which hath beene for many yeares used and occupied for the playing of tragedies, commedies, histories, enterludes, and playes. That the same, by reason of its having beene so long built, hath fallen into great decay, and that besides the reparation thereof, it has beene found necessarie to make the same more convenient for the entertainement of auditories coming thereto. That to this end your Petitioners have all and eche of them put

[1] Malone had nothing upon which to found himself, but the list of actors in some of Ben Jonson's plays, and the enumeration in the licence of 1603. The name of Shakespeare is, in the latter, preceded only by that of a person (Lawrence Fletcher) not mentioned in 1596, as having anything to do with the company : Burbadge, Phillips, and Hemings, who stand before Shakespeare in 1596, were postponed to him in 1603, to such importance does he seem to have risen in the interval. He had belonged to the company at the Blackfriars as early as 1589.

down sommes of money, according to their shares in the said theatre, and which they have justly and honestly gained by the exercise of their qualitie of stage-players; but that certaine persons (some of them of honour), inhabitants of the said precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers have, as your Petitioners are infourmed, besought your honourable Lordshipps not to permitt the said private house any longer to remaine open, but hereafter to be shut up and closed, to the manifest and great injurie of your petitioners, who have no other meanes whereby to maintain their wives and families, but by the exercise of their qualitie as they have heretofore done. Furthermore, that in the summer season your Petitioners are able to playe at their new built house on the Bankside calde the Globe, but that in the winter they are compelled to come to the Blackfriers; and if your honorable Lordshipps give consent unto that which is prayde against your Petitioners, they will not onely, while the winter endures, loose the meanes whereby they now support them selves and their families, but be unable to practise them selves in anie playes or enterludes, when calde upon to perform for the recreation and solace of her Ma^tie^ and her honorable Court, as they have beene heretofore acustomed. The humble prayer of your Petitioners therefore is, that your honorable Lordshipps will grant permission to finish the reparations and alterations they have begun; and as your Petitioners have hitherto been well ordred in their behaviour, and just in their dealings, that your honorable Lordshipps will not inhibit them from acting at their above namde private house in the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers, and your Petitioners, as in dutie most bounden, will ever pray for the increasing honor and happinesse of your honorable Lordshipps.'

There is no doubt that the Blackfriars Theatre was repaired in 1596, whether it was enlarged is doubtful; but at Dulwich College we discovered the following note, from the agent or servant of the Master of the Revels, which, possibly, was effectual. Henslowe, to whom it was addressed, as himself proprietor of a theatre or theatres, would of course be opposed

to any improvement or enlargement of a rival house, although distant from his own.

Mr. Hinslowe,—This is to enfourme you that my Mr. the Maister of the revelles hath rec. from the Ll. of the counsell order, that the L. Chamberlens servauntes shall not be distourbed at the Blacke-fryars according with their petition in that behalfe; but leave shall be given unto theym to make good the decaye of the saide House, butt not to make the same larger then in former tyme hath bene. From thoffice of the Revelles this 3 of maie 1596.

Rich. Veale.

We have had no money-accounts from the office of the Revels since 1589: if they were made out by Tylney they have not survived; and in 1597, the department was in a state of great disorganization. In a document among the papers of the Lord Treasurer,[1] it is stated, that in 1597, 'two whole years' charge was behind unpaid, to the great hinderance of the poor artificers.' A person who signs himself 'poor Bryan Dodmer', who was put forward on behalf of many others, presented a petition to the Queen, in which he asserted, that in the last year and nine months 1550*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, had become due to various parties; and William Bowles, yeoman of the chamber, for his own share, in a separate petition, claimed 136*l.* The Master and Yeoman of the Revels are not mentioned, but the Clerk of the Revels submitted to Lord Burghley a plan for the reform of the office. The principal feature in it was, that a new officer, to be called Serjeant of the Revels, should be named to superintend the whole, and to enforce economy. The building where the dresses, armour, etc., were kept, had at this period fallen into a state of great dilapidation, so that the properties had been much injured by exposure to damp, etc.[2] Whether anything

A. D. 1597.

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 83.

[2] In this document the subsequent account is given of the origin of the

was done by the Lord Treasurer, in consequence of these representations, we have now no means of knowing; but if Tylney were ill, or temporarily in disgrace, he notwithstanding retained his appointment.

It is not easy to fix the exact date of the literary curiosity we have now, for the first time, to put in print. It is a letter without date, and in the present state of the original without signature; but it was the production of the celebrated Thomas Nash, the satirist and dramatist; and it once, no doubt, had his name at the bottom of it, though now (with the exception of the top of the letter N which is still visible) worn away, in consequence of the binding of the volume of MSS. in which it is inserted, being too short for this, and the other communications it contains.[1] It seems never to have had a date, but the temporary allusions in it are numerous, and perhaps the latest is the mention of the publication of the *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, by Sir John (then Mr.) Harington, which took place

Office of the Revels, and it is doubtless correct: it is said, that in the first instance the King appointed a Master of the Revels, as he was required for different festive occasions—then, that the offices of the Revels, Tents and Toils were united, and that one Travers, as Serjeant, had the management of them. After his death, Sir Thomas Cawarden succeeded to the appointment, and 'misliking to be called Serjeant', was made, by patent from Henry VIII, the first *Master* of the Revels. A Clerk, Comptroller, and other sub-officers, were afterwards added for his assistance. The next step was, that Queen Elizabeth divided the office again into three departments—the Revels, Tents, and Toils; giving the first to Sir Thomas Benger, the second to Mr. Henry Sackford, and the third to Mr. Tamworth. With regard to Travers, above mentioned, he is perhaps the Edmund Travore whose name is to be found in the King's Book of Payments, Dec. 9, 10 Henry VIII. He may possibly be the Edm. Tho. who is said to have been *Magister Jocorum et Revellorum*, and preceded Sir Thomas Cawarden.

[1] Some person has written 'T. Nashe' at the corner of the letter, perhaps to preserve the name before it became quite illegible.

after August 1596. The writer of this letter, among other things, speaks of his own productions 'for the stage and for the press', and he addresses it in the following manner :—'To his worshipfull good friend, Mr. William Cotton'. It is found in one of the letters sent by an immense variety of correspondents to Sir Robert Cotton, and it may be taken to establish a new fact connected with the history of Nash; viz., that he was in some way related to Sir Robert Cotton : he has himself led us to suppose that his family was respectable.[1] It is immediately connected with the subject before us, inasmuch as it mentions the persecution of the players at that time, by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. It is to be regretted, that part of the letter is too gross to allow it to be quoted entire : it must however be recollected, that in this portion of his epistle, Nash is alluding to one of the coarsest works that ever appeared in our language. The reader will lose nothing in point of information by the omission of such passages ; and the rest of the letter runs thus :—

'Sir,—This tedious dead vacation is to me as unfortunate, as a terme at Hertford or St. Albons[2] to poore cuntry clients, or Jack Cade's rebellion to the lawyers, wherein they hanged up the Chief Justice. In towne I stayd (being earnestly invited elsewhere) upon had-I-wist hopes of an after harvest I expected by writing for the stage, and for the presse; when now the players, as if they had writt another *Christs Tears*,[3] are piteously persecuted by the L. Maior and

[1] In his *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599; where he states that he was born at Leostoff in Suffolk, but that his father was of the Nashes of Hertfordshire. Sir R. Cotton was of a Huntingdonshire family.

[2] Nash's attention was directed to this circumstance, because in the very autumn of the year when his *Summers Last Will and Testament* was performed, 1593, Michaelmas term was kept at St. Albans in consequence of the prevalence of the plague in London..

[3] Nash's *Christs Teares over Jerusalem*, a prose tract, was not printed until after September 1593, for on the 16th of that month Gabriel

the Aldermen; and however in their old Lords tyme they thought their state settled, it is now so uncertayne *they cannot build upon it:* and for the printers, there is such gaping amongst them for the coppy of my L. of Essex[1] voyage, and the ballet of threscore and foure Knights, that though my Lord Marquesse wrote a second parte of his *fever lurden or idlenesse*,[2] or Churchyard enlarg'd his *Chips*,[3] saying they were the very same which Christ in Carpenters Hall is paynted gathering up, as Joseph, his father, strewes hewing a piece of timber, and Mary, his mother, sitts spinning by, yet would not they give for them the price of a proclamation out of date, or, which is the contemptiblest summe that may be (worse than a scute or a dandiprat), the price of all Harvey's works bound up together.[4] Only Mr. Harrington of late hath set up such a filthy stinking jakes in Pouls churchyard, that the stationers would give any money for a cover for it:[5] what shold move him to it I know not. * * * O, it is

---

Harvey refers to it as 'promised', in his *New Letter of Notable Contents*. Nash here alludes to the persecution he seems to have experienced, in consequence of having published that tract, which was treated as a piece of pretended piety.

[1] The expedition to Cadiz, commanded by the Earls of Nottingham and Essex, sailed in the beginning of June 1596. See Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 1283, edit. 1615.

[2] The words in italic are interlined in the original, and are exceedingly difficult to be deciphered; but they refer to the old Marquis of Winchester's work called *Idleness*, printed in 1586.

[3] Churchyard's *Chippes contayning twelve severall labours*, were once very popular: they were printed in 1568, 1575, 1578, etc.

[4] He means the *value* by 'the price'. Nash was not likely to hold Harvey's works in very high estimation after their late contest.

[5] Three editions of Sir J. Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* were printed very soon after its first appearance, notwithstanding a licence for it had been refused. Richard Field, who printed the two first editions, probably had reason to repent it; and the third edition had no printer's, nor bookseller's name attached to it. See the advertisement to the Reprint in 1814.

detestable and abhominable, far worse then [Mu]ndays ballet of Untrusse,[1] or Gillian of Braynfords will[2] * * * able to make any man have a stinking breath that lookes in it, or the outside of it. Sure, had I beene of his consayle, he shold have sett for the mott, or word before it, Fah! and dedicated it to the house of the Shakerlie's[3] * * * He will be coffined &c. in a jakes farmer tunne, no other nose-wise Christian, for his horrible perfume, being able to come nere him. Well, some men for sorrow sing, as it is in the ballet of John Carelesse in the *Booke of Martirs*,[4] and I am merry now, though I have nere a penny in my purse. God may move you, though I say nothing; in which hope, that that which wilbe shalbe, I take my leave.

'Yours in acknowledgement of the deepest bond.'

Whether this appeal did, or did not, produce the effect for which it was made, we find Nash in May 1597 writing for the Lord Admiral's players, then under Philip Henslowe, and producing for them a play called *The Isle of Dogs*, which is con-

[1] The two first letters of Munday's name are worn away in the original. He was a noted ballad writer, as well as dramatist.

[2] Nash seems fond of allusions to Gillian of Brentford's Will. What he here says of it tallies exactly with his account of her legacy in his *Summers Last Will and Testament*, so that the omission here made may be easily supplied by the curious. Nash also introduces her in his Epistle before R. Greene's *Menaphon*, 1587. *Bibl. Cot.*, i, 152.

[3] One member of this family seems referred to by Gabriel Harvey, in his *Envoy* to his sonnet called *Gorgon, or the Wonderful Year*, at the end of his *New Letter of Notable Contents*, 1593:—

'The hughest miracles remain behind,
The second Shakerley, rash-swash, to bind.'

[4] John Careless, a Coventry weaver, died in the King's Bench, on July 1st, 1556. In one of his letters preserved by Fox (*Martyrs*, iii, 1743 edit. 1610) he tells Philpot that he is 'singing psalms of praise and thanksgiving'. On p. 1753 are some verses which he wrote to his sister: but in the above passage Nash alludes to a 'ballad' then current on the story of Careless.

nected with an important circumstance in the history of the stage, viz., the temporary silencing of that company, in consequence of the very piece of which Nash was the author. The following singular particulars are extracted from the Diary kept by Henslowe, which is still, though in an imperfect and and mutilated state, preserved at Dulwich College: Malone published none of them :—

'Pd 14 of May 1597, to Edw. Jube, upon a notte from Nashe, twentye shellinges more for *the Iylle of Dogges*, which he is wrytinge for the companey.

'Pd this 23 of August 1597, to Henerey Porter to cary to T. Nashe, nowe att this tyme in the flete for wrytinge of the Eylle of Dogges, ten shellinges, to be payde agen to me wen he cann. I saye ten shillinges.

'Pd to M. Blunsones, the M^{r} of the Revelles man, this 27 of August 1597, ten shellinges, for newes of the restraynt beyng recaled by the lordes of the Queenes Cownsell.'

Here we see, that in the spring of 1597, Nash was employed upon the play; and, like his brother dramatists of that day, who wrote for Henslowe's company, received money on account. *The Isle of Dogs* was produced prior to the 10th of August 1597, because, in another memorandum by Henslowe (which Malone has quoted, though with some omissions and mistakes),[1] he refers to the restraint at that date put upon the Lord Admiral's players. On the 23rd of the same month, Nash was confined in the Fleet prison in consequence of his

[1] *Shakspeare* by Boswell, iii, 322. Correctly it runs thus :—

'Mmdum. the 10 of August 1597, Wm. Borne came, & ofered hime sealfe to come and play with my lord Admiralles men at my house, called by the name of the Rosse, sitewate one the Banck, after this order folowinge. He hath received of me iij^{d}. upon an asumset to forfett unto me a hundreth marckes, of lafull money of England, yf he do not performe thes thinges folowing: that is, presentley after libertie beinge granted for playinge, to come and to playe with my lorde Admiralles men at my

play, when Henry Porter, also a poet, carried him ten shillings from Henslowe, who took care to register that it was not a gift; and on the 27th of August, 'the restraint was recalled' by the Privy Council. We may conclude also, perhaps, that Nash was about the same time discharged from custody.[1]

In reference to this important theatrical transaction, we meet with the following memorandum in the Registers of the Privy Council: it has never before been printed nor mentioned:—

'A Letter to Richard Topclyfe, Thomas Fowler, and Ric. Skevington, Esqs., Doctour Fletcher, and Mr. Wilbraham.

'Uppon information given us of a lewd plaie that was plaied in one of the plaie howses on the Bancke side, contayninge very seditious and sclaunderous matter, wee caused some of the players to be apprehended and comytted to pryson; whereof one of them was not only an actor, but a maker of parte of the said plaie. For as moche as yt ys thought meete that the rest of the players or actours in that matter shalbe apprehended to receave soche punyshment as theire lewde and howsse aforsayd, and not in any other howsse publick abowt London, for the space of three yeares, beginninge imediately after this restraynt is recaled by the lordes of the Counsell, which restraynt is by the meanes of playinge the Ieylle of Dooges. Yf he do not, then he forfetts this asumpset afore, or els not. Wittnes to this,

'E. Alleyn & Robsone.'

[1] It is with this imprisonment that Gabriel Harvey taunts Nash, in the tract called *The Trimming of Thomas Nash*, 1597, written in the name of Richard Litchfield, the barber. It contains a rude wood-cut of a man in fetters, and, together with many allusions to dogs, a paragraph beginning with these words: 'Since that thy Ile of Dogs hath made thee thus miserable, I cannot but account thee a dog, and chide and rate thee as a dog that hath done a fault', etc. The Isle of Dogs seems at one time to have been a sort of refuge from creditors, and officers of justice. Nash's play was probably satirical, and therefore offensive.

mutynous behavior doth deserve ; these shalbe, therefore, to require yow to examine those of the plaiers that are comytted, whose names are knowne to yow, Mr. Topclyfe ; what ys become of the rest of theire fellowes that either had their partes in the devysinge of that sedytious matter, or that were actours or plaiers in the same, what copies they have given forth of the said playe, and to whome, and soch other pointes as you shall thincke meete to be demaunded of them ; wherein yow shall require them to deale trulie, as they will looke to receave anie favour. Wee praie yow also to peruse soch papers as were fownde *in Nash his lodgings*, which Ferrys, a messenger of the Chamber, shall delyver unto yow, and to certifie us the examynations yow take. So, &c.

'Greenwich, 15th Aug. 1597.'

There is also another entry at page 327, dated 28 July 1597, addressed to the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex and Surrey, directing that, in consequence of great disorders committed in common playhouses, and lewd matters handled on the stages, the Curtain Theatre and the Theatre near Shoreditch should be dismantled, and no more plays suffered to be played therein ; and a like order to be taken with the playhouses on the Bankside, in Southwark, or elsewhere in Surrey, within three miles of London.

In February 1597-8, about six months before the death of Lord Burghley, are to be observed the first obvious indications of a disposition on the part of the government of Elizabeth permanently to restrain theatrical representations. At that date, licences had been granted to two companies of players only—those of the Lord Admiral and of the Lord Chamberlain—'to use and practise stage playes' in order that they might be the better qualified to appear before the Queen. A third company, not named, had however played 'by way of intrusion', and the Privy Council, on the 19th February 1597-8, sent orders to the Master of the Revels, and to the Justices

of the Peace of Middlesex and Surrey for its suppression.[1] It is very doubtful, however, whether any decisive measures were then adopted in the matter, because in July following, a resolution was agreed to by the vestry of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, 'that a petition shall be made to the bodye of the Councell, concerning the play-houses in this parish; wherein the enormities shall be showed that come thereby to the parish, and that in respect thereof they may be dismissed, and put down from playing: and that four, or two, of the Churchwardens, &c., shall present the cause, with a collector of the Boroughside, and another of the Bankside'. Of course, had there been at this date only two companies of players performing in Middlesex and Surrey, such a proceeding would not have been required. Neither did the presentation of this petition produce the consequence desired; because some time afterwards, the playhouses not having been

[1] The following is a copy of the entry in the Registers of the Privy Council, on the 19th February 1597-8:—

'A letter to the M[r] of the Revells and Justices of Peace of Middlesex and Surrey.—Whereas Licence hath been graunted unto two companies of Stage Players, retayned unto us, the Lord Admyrall and Lord Chamberlain, to use and practise Stage Playes, whereby they might be the better enhabled, and prepared to shew such plaies before her Majestie as they shalbe required at tymes meete and accustomed; to which ende they have bin chieflie licenced and tollerated as aforesaid: And whereas there is also a third Company, who of late (as we are informed) have by waie of intrusion used likewise to play, having neither prepared any plaie for her Majestie, nor are bound to you, the Master of the Revells, for perfourming such orders as have bin prescribed, and are enjoined to be observed by the other two Companies before mencioned: Wee have therefore thought good to require you, upon receipt hereof, to take order, that the aforesaid third Company may be suppressed, and none suffered heereafter to plaie, but those two formerlie named belonging to us, the Lord Admyral and Lord Chamberlaine, unles you shall receave other directions from us. And so,' etc.

'put down', the Churchwardens of St. Saviour's endeavoured to obtain tithes, and poor-rates, from the owners and managers of the theatres on the Bankside.[1] As late as 11th March 1600-1, plays were represented at St. Paul's, at Blackfriars, and at other places 'within the city and the liberties'; for on that day an order was sent by the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, that they might 'be utterly suppressed during this time of Lent'.[2]

From Rowland White's *Sidney Papers* (ii, 203), as well as from the following extract of a letter from Sir Dudley Carlton's news-correspondent John Chamberlain, we learn that the Queen and Court were not without their *quasi*-dramatic amusements in the summer of the year 1600; the precise date was 24 June, and Chamberlain's words are these :—

'I doubt not but you have heard of the great marriage at the Lady Russells, where the Q. was present, being carried from the water side in a curious chaire and lodged at the L. Cobhams; and of the maske of eight maides of honour and other gentlewomen, in name of the Muses, that came to seeke one of theyre fellowes' (probably meaning the Queen).

At this date, if we are not mistaken, Sir Dudley Carlton was in the Low Countries on some public employment. Another letter of the same character and from the same

[1] Chalmers's *Apology*, p. 404. On the 28th of March 1600, it was ordered 'that the Churchwardens shall talk with the players for tithes of their play-houses, and for the rest of the new tanne houses near thereabouts within the libertie of the Clinke, and for money for the poore, according to the order taken before my Lords of Canterbury and London and M^r^ of the Revels'.—*Parish Register of St. Saviour's.*

[2] As early as 13th of March 1578-9, the Privy Council required the Lord Mayor to suffer no plays to be acted within his jurisdiction during Lent, and until after Easter. Entries of the same kind are to be found dispersed over the Registers at various dates.

correspondent contains the following particulars, although only the later portion may be said to contribute at all to our purpose: what is said regarding the rich hangings of the Spanish Armada shews the origin of those ornaments formerly in the House of Lords, and which were destroyed in the great fire which consumed the Houses of Parliament; the date of the letter to Sir Dudley Carlton is 23 December:

'You likt the L. Kepers devises so yll that I cared not to get Mr. Secretaries, that were not much better, saving a pretty dialogue of John Davies, twixt a maide a widow and a wife, which I do not thinke but Mr. Saunders hath seen, and no doubt will come out one of these dayes in print with the rest of his workes. The L. Admiralls feasting the Q. had nothing extraordinarie; neither were his presents so precious as was expected, being only a whole suit of apparell, whereas it was thought he wold haue bestowed *his rich hangings of all the fights with the Spanish Armada in eightie eight.* These feastings haue had their effect to stay the Court here this Christmas, though most of the carriages were well onward on theyre way to Richmond.'

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1599 TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

THE 'insurrection', as it was called, of the Earl of Essex and his adherents occurred in the middle of February 1601, and the Globe Theatre and its actors became in a manner involved in the affair, because the conspirators had negociated with the Managers for the performance of a play (probably by Shakespeare, but possibly by a different author) on the deposition of King Richard the Second. Augustine Phillips, one of the chief actors, was examined by Chief Justice Popham, in order that the public authorities might ascertain how far the company was compromised by the affair: his Deposition on the occasion has been preserved in the State-paper office; and as it was clearly established that the actors were in no way to blame, the whole matter, as far as the Globe Theatre was concerned, came to an end.[1]

The building of the Fortune play-house in Golding-lane, which was undertaken in 1599 by the celebrated Edward Alleyn, in conjunction with Philip Henslowe, seems to have

[1] All the known particulars may be seen in the Introduction to *King Richard the Second*, in the present Editor's edition of *Shakespeare*, 1858, vol. iii, p. 211.

given fresh alarm to the enemies of theatrical performances, and fresh vigour to their representations against them. Complaints were exhibited upon the subject to the Privy Council; and the result was an order, which, if it had been literally carried into execution, would have operated as a most severe restriction: it is one of the most important documents connected with the stage contained in the Council Registers, from which so many curious particulars have been gleaned. We have before seen, that the number of companies allowed by authority to perform in Feb. 1597-8, were only two, and the order to which we are now referring limits the theatres to two also, viz., the Globe, on the Bankside, Surrey, and the Fortune, in Golding-lane, Middlesex, then in a course of rapid construction. The Globe was to be occupied by the players of the Lord Chamberlain, to which Shakespeare belonged, and the Fortune by those of the Lord Admiral, at the head of whom was Edward Alleyn: each was allowed to be opened twice in the week, but not at all on Sundays, nor during Lent. The document itself, the particular wording of which deserves attention, is inserted in a note below.[1]

[1] From the Council Register of 22nd of June 1600:—

'THEATRES AND PLAYERS.

'Whereas divers complaints have been heretofore made, unto the Lords and others of her Majesty's privy council, of the manifold abuses and disorders, that have grown, and do continue, by occasion of many houses, erected, and employed in, & about, the city of London, for common stage plays: and now very lately, by reason of some complaints exhibited by sundry persons against the building of the like house in or near Golding-lane, by one Edward Allen, a servant to the right honble the Lord Admiral, the matter as well in generalty touching all the said houses for stage plays, and the use of playing, as in particular concerning the said house now in hand to be built in or near Golding-lane, hath been brought into question and consultation among their Lordships. Forasmuch as it is manifestly known, and granted, that the multitude of the said houses,

In May 1601, the Lord Admiral's servants had quitted the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch for the new house, called 'the Fortune', in the parish of Cripplegate; but we find, notwith-

and the misgovernment of them hath been, and is daily occasion of the idle, riotous and dissolute living of great numbers of people, that leaving all such honest and painful course of life as they should follow, do meet and assemble there, and of many particular abuses and disorders that do thereupon ensue. And yet nevertheless it is considered, that the use and exercise of such plays (not being evil in itself) may, with a good order and moderation, be suffered in a well-governed state; and that her Majesty being pleased sometimes to take delight and recreation in the sight & hearing of them, some order is fit to be taken, for the allowance and maintenance of such persons, as are thought meetest in that kind to yield her Majesty recreation and delight, & consequently of the houses that must serve for public playing to keep them in exercise. To the end, therefore, that both the great abuses of the plays and playing-houses may be redressed, & yet the aforesaid use & moderation of them retained, the Lords and the rest of her Majesty's privy council, with one & full consent, have ordered in manner & form as followeth;—

'First: That there shall be about the city two houses, and no more, allowed to serve for the use of the common stage plays; of the which houses, one shall be in Surrey, in that place which is commonly called *The Bankside*, or thereabouts, and the other in Middlesex. And for as much as their Lordships have been informed by Edmund Tilney, Esq., her Majesty's servant & Master of the Revels, that the house now in hand to be built by the said Edward Allen, is not intended to increase the number of the play-houses, but to be instead of another (namely the Curtain) which is either to be ruined, and plucked down, or to be put to some other good use, as also that the situation thereof is meet and convenient for that purpose; it is likewise ordered, that the said house of Allen shall be allowed to be one of the two houses, and namely for the house to be allowed in Middlesex for the company of players belonging to the Lord Admiral, so as the house called the Curtain be (as it is pretended) either ruinated or applied to some other good use. And for the other house to be allowed on the Surrey side, whereas their Lordships are pleased to permit, to the company of players, that shall play there, to make their own choice, which they will have, of divers houses that are

standing, by a letter addressed from the Privy Council to 'certain Justices of the Peace of the county of Middlesex', dated on the 10th May 1601, that the Curtain still continued open for the representation of plays, the Lords being ignorant by what company of actors it was occupied. We learn also from the same communication, that the actors had even ventured to bring upon their stage living characters; in consequence of which the Magistrates were directed to forbid

there, choosing one of them and no more. And the said company of players, being the servants of the Lord Chamberlain that are to play there, have made choice of the house called *The Globe;* it is ordered that the said house, and none other, shall be there allowed: and especially it is forbidden, that any stage plays shall be played (as sometimes they have been) in any common inn for public assembly, in or near about the city.

'Secondly, Forasmuch as these stage plays, by the multitude of houses & company of players, have been so frequent, not serving for recreation, but inviting & calling the people daily from their trade & work to mispend their time; it is likewise ordered, that the two several companies of players assigned to the two houses allowed, may play each of them in their several houses twice a week, & no oftener: and especially they shall refrain to play on the Sabbath day, upon pain of imprisonment & further penalty. And that they shall forbear altogether in the time of Lent, and likewise at such time and times as any extraordinary sickness, or infection of disease, shall appear to be in or about the city.

'Thirdly. Because the orders will be of little force and effect, unless they be duly put in execution by those unto whom it appertaineth to see them executed; it is ordered, that several copies of these orders shall be sent to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the justices of the peace in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and that letters shall be written unto them from their Lordships, strictly charging them to see to the execution of the same, as well by committing to prison any owners of playhouses, and players, as shall disobey and resist these orders, as by any other good and lawful means, that in their discretion they shall find expedient, and to certify their Lordships from time to time, as they shall see cause, of their proceedings herein.'

their playing the objectionable piece, and, if necessary, to take bond of them to answer for their misconduct. Nothing is said, however, regarding the suppression of the company, though it belonged neither to the Lord Chamberlain, nor to the Lord Admiral.[1]

Although the order of the Privy Council of the 22d June 1600, was enclosed to the Lord Mayor and to the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey, with directions that it should be enforced, it is singular, as far as we can now learn, that no step whatever was taken to carry it into execution ; as if, while the Court was disposed to restrain the immoderate use of plays, the Lord Mayor and his brethren, as well as the other magistrates, had entirely changed their sentiments, and now thought it a hardship upon the players, that the Privy Council should listen to the representations of the Puritans against them.

[1] The letter is in the following form :—

'10 May 1601.

'We do understand, that certain players, that used to recyte their playes at the Curtaine in Moorefields, do represent upon the stage in their interludes the persons of some gent. of good desert and quality, that are yet alive, under obscure manner, but yet in such sorte as all the hearers may take notice both of the matter, and the persons that are meant thereby. This being a thing very unfitte, offensive, & contrary to such directions as have bin heretofore taken, that no playes should be openly shewed, but such as were first perused & allowed, & that might minister no occasion of offence or scandall, wee do hereby require you, that you do forthwith forbidd those players, to whomsoever they appertaine, that do play at the Courtaine in Moorefieldes, to represent any such play; & that you will examine them who made that play, & to shew the same unto you; and as you in your discretions shall thinke the same unfitte to be publiquely shewed, to forbidd them from henceforth to play the same, eyther privately or publiquely. And if, upon viewe of the said play, you shall find the subject so odious and inconvenient as is informed, we require you to take bond of the cheafest of them to aunswere their rashe & indiscreete dealing before us, &c.'

The evil, such as it was, accordingly increased, 'in the multitude of play-houses and stage-plays in and about the city of London'. This fact is asserted in two letters, of the same tenor, to the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey, dated 31st December 1601, in which severe blame is cast upon them for their negligence; and in which they are called upon to summon before them the owners of playhouses, excepting the two that were licensed (the Globe and Fortune), and not to suffer them to perform in future.[1]

[1] The angry letter, as it appears in the Council Register of the 31st of December 1601, runs thus:—

'It is vaine for us to take knowledge of great abuses & disorders complaind of, and to give order for redresse, if our directions find no better execution & observation then it seemeth they do: and we must needes impute the fault & blame thereof to you, or some of you, the Justices of the Peace that are put in trust to see them executed & performed: whereof we may give you a plaine instance in the great abuse contynued, or rather encreased, in the multitude of Plaie houses, and Stage Plaies in & about the Cittie of London. For whereas about a year & a half since (upon knowledge taken of the great enormities, and disorders by the overmuch frequenting of Plaies) wee did carefullie set downe & prescribe an order to be observed concerninge the number of Playe Howses, & the use & exercise of Stage plaies, with lymytacions of tymes and places for the same (namely that there should be but two howses allowed for that use, one in Middlesex called the Fortune, and one in Surrey called the Globe, and the same with observation of certaine daies and times, as in the said order is particularly expressed) in such sorte as a moderate practise of them for honest recreation might be contynued, and yet the inordinate concourse of dissolute and idle people be restrayned. Wee do now understande, that our said order hath bin so far from taking dew effect, as in steede of restraint and redresse of the former disorders, the multitude of play howses is much encreased, & that no daie passeth over without many Stage plaies in one place or other, within & about the Cittie publiquelie made. The default of perfourmance of which our said order we must, in great parte, the rather impute to the justices of the peace, because at the same tyme wee gave earnest directions unto you to

The Lord Mayor was written to on the same occasion, and he seems to have renewed his complaint against the number of players 'within and about the City of London' at the very moment when he ought to have been in possession of the authority of the Privy Council to suppress them. That authority had, however, been sent to his predecessor in office, who, unwilling that it should be enforced, had perhaps not handed it over.[1]

This endeavour on the part of the authorities of the state, not to suppress, but to limit and restrain the performance of plays, was the last act of the government of Elizabeth on the subject. We find nothing in the Privy Council Registers of the company specifically called 'the Queen's players' after the 27th of February 1592-3;[2] and subsequent to that date, her

see it streightly executed, and to certifie us of the execution; and yet wee have neither understoode of any redresse made by you, nor receaved any certificate at all of your proceedings therein; which default or omission wee do now pray and require you forthwith to amende, & to cause our said former order to be put duly in execution; and especiallie to call before you the owners of all the other Play howses (excepting the two howses in Middlesex & Surrey aforementioned,) & to take good and sufficient bonds of them not to exercise, use, or practise, nor to suffer from hence forth to be exercised, used, or practised any Stage playinge in their howses; and if they shall refuse to enter into such bonds, then to commit them to prison untill they shall conforme themselves. And so &c.'

[1] Chalmers (*Apology*, p. 410) found the letter of the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, and accordingly inserted it; but he did not meet with that to the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey. They were of the same date and tenor.

[2] There can be little doubt that the company no longer existed as 'the Queens players,' and that they had changed their name to 'the Lord Chamberlain's servants;' but for what reason is nowhere mentioned. Among the curious matter in Henslowe's Diary from 1591 to 1608, not quoted nor referred to by Malone, is an entry, shewing that before May

Majesty had been entertained at Christmas and Shrovetide, chiefly by the Lord Chamberlain's players (of whom we then hear for the first time under that name), and the Lord Admiral's servants; though the Earl of Pembroke's and the Earl of Derby's players had been also called upon to assist in the festivities of Christmas 1592, Christmas 1593, and Shrovetide 1599. It appears from evidence contained in the Moral-play of *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality* (printed in 1602), that it had been performed before the Queen in 1600.[1] It was possibly one of the 'three

1593, the Queen's players had '*broke*, and went into the country,' when they were joined by Francis Henslowe, a player, and some relation, perhaps son, to old Philip Henslowe. The following is the memorandum in the Diary relating to this fact:—

'Lent unto Francis Henslow, the 3 of May 1593, to laye downe for his share to the Quenes Players, when they broke and went into the contrey to playe, the some of fyfteen pownd, to be payd unto me at his retorne out of the contrey—I saye lent. Wittnes,

'John Towne,
'Hew Daves,
'Richard Alleyn.'

Two years afterwards Francis Henslowe joined a company not named, when Philip Henslowe lent him 9*l.* to pay for half a share. It is difficult to explain in what way Francis Henslowe could have lent money to Lord Burghley, as is asserted in the same entry, which runs thus (possibly, *lord Burle* was only a cant name for some member of the company):

'Lent unto Francis Henslow, the 1 of June 1595, in redey mony to laye downe for his halfe share with the company which he dothe playe with all, to be payd unto me when he doth receive his money wch he lent to my lord Burle, or when my asyenes [assigns] doth demand yt. Wittnes,

'Wm. Smyght, *player*,
'George Attewell, *player*.
'Robard Nycowlles, *player*.'

[1] It is stated on the title-page that it was 'played before her Majesty'; and in the body of the performance mention is made of the forty-third

interludes' represented by the servants of the Lord Chamberlain at Christmas 1600, for which John Hemings, who was at the head of the company, received 30*l.* on the 11th of March 1600-1. At Christmas, of the following year, she was entertained by the Lord Admiral's players,[1] for in Henslowe's *Diary* occurs the subsequent entry, among others passed over by Malone:—

'Rec. of M. E. Alleyn, the 4 of Maye 1601, the somme of twenty eight pounds & ten shellings, which he received at the Corte for ther Cort money for playinge ther at Cryssmas, which was dewe unto the earlle of Notinghames players, 28*l.* 10*s.*'

By another item, it appears, that a person, called Nycke, had 'tumbled before the Queen' on the same occasion, and 14*s.* are charged for his silk hose. From other entries in the same book, it is clear, that the services of the same company were required at Christmas, in the ensuing year. On the 14th of December 1602, Henslowe paid 5*s.* to 'a poet', not named, for writing a prologue and epilogue to 'the play of Bacon' (no doubt Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bongay*, first printed in 1594), 'for the court'; and on the 29th of December, of the same year, Henry Chettle obtained the like sum for a prologue and epilogue to another play 'at the court', the title of which is not inserted: from the circum-

year of her reign. It was, possibly, an older piece revived and altered; perhaps by R. Greene, as is asserted in Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675. A play, called *Prodigality*, was, as has been shown, represented before the Queen as early as 1568.

[1] According to Henslowe, in his diary, under date of the year 1597, the following were then the players forming the company acting under the name of the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral:—Borne (alias Bird), Gabriel, Slater (or Slaughter), Jones, Downton (usually written Dowton), Juby, Towne, Synger, and the two Jeffes.

stance of a new prologue and epilogue being wanted, we may conclude that, like '*Bacon*', it was a revival.

A Mask was also exhibited at court in 1602, in all probability at Christmas, and it is noticed in a very valuable and remarkable source of information applicable to the last two years of the reign of Elizabeth. We were fortunate enough to meet with it among the *Harleian MSS.* in the British Museum, and it is in the shape of a Table-book, or Diary, kept by an individual whose name was Manningham, and who seems to have been a barrister, and consequently a member of one of the Inns of Court.[1] The dates, which are inserted with much particularity, extend from January 1600-1, to April 1603; and when we state that it includes original and unpublished anecdotes of Shakespeare, Spenser, Tarleton, Ben Jonson, Marston, Sir John Davies, Sir W. Raleigh and others, it will not be disputed that it is, what we have termed it, a very valuable and remarkable source of information. Some of the particulars it supplies, it is true, are in themselves comparatively trifling, but, as has been often said, trifles become important when connected with the lives of distinguished men. The size is small octavo, or duodecimo; and, excepting by the maker of the *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.* (where it is numbered 5353), it seems to have remained in

[1] He lived at one time in Chambers with Ed. Curle, whose call to the bar he notices, and from whom he heard many of the anecdotes, etc., he inserts in his diary. For others he cites the authority of Sir Thomas Overbury, who, on leaving college after 1598, became a student of the Middle Temple, to which Society it is probable that the author of this diary belonged. He had relations in Kent, whom he often went to visit, a cousin named Cranmer at Canterbury, a cousin named Watts at Sandwich, and a third cousin named Chapman at Godmersham. Another of his relations was named Norton. A surgeon at Maidstone, not named, was also related to him.

that collection entirely unexamined. It is written in a small, fair, and tolerably legible hand.

A 'song to the Queene in a Maske at Court, 1602', is the first entry in this Diary, and it is inserted on the fly-leaf in the following words :—

'Mighty Princes of a fruitfull land,
In whose riche bosome stored bee
Wisdome and care, treasures that free
Us from all feare : thus with a bounteous hand
You serve the world w^ch^ yett you doe commaund.

'Most gracious Queene, we tender back
Our lives as tributes due,
Since all whereof we all partake
We freely take from you.

Blessed Goddess of our hopes increase,
Att whose fayre right hand
Attend justice and grace,
Both which commend
True beauties face !
Thus doe you never cease
To make the death of war the life of peace.
Victorious Queene, soe shall you live
Till tyme it selfe must dye ;
Since no tyme ever can deprive
You of such memory.'

No name is appended to this song, and it would be idle to indulge in conjectures regarding its authorship ; the Mask in which it was inserted was exhibited at Christmas, for Queen Elizabeth died on the last day but one of 1602, as the year was then calculated, or the 24th of March 1603, as it is now reckoned. She continued to visit her nobility up to a very late period. The Barrister's Diary furnishes us, not only with the information, that the Queen was at Sir Robert Cecill's on

Monday, 6th of December, but with an account of her entertainment there on the occasion; he does not give the day of the month in the following quotation, but that we have already ascertained from the letter of John Chamberlain:—

'December 1602.

'On munday last the Queen dyned at Sir Robert Cecils newe house in the Strand:[1] shee was very royally entertained, and richely presented, and was marvelous well contented; but at hir departure she strayned her foote. His hall was well furnished with choise weapons, which her M^tie^ tooke especiall notice of. Sundry devises at hir entrance: three women, a maid a widow and a wife eache centending [for] their owne states, but the virgin preferred: an other; on [one] attired in habit of a Turke, desyrous to see hir, enterd; but as a stranger without hope of such grace, in regard of the retired manner of hir cort—complained—answere made and sone gracious, her Ma^tie^ in admitting to presence, and sone able to discourse in anie language, which the Turke admired; and admitted, presents hir with a riche mantle,' &c.

The 'rich mantle' was one of the 'presents' prepared for the Queen, according to Chamberlain's letter. The entry in the Diary is not by any means clearly worded, and it was probably hastily made: the meaning of it is, that the Turk on entering feared that, as a stranger, he should not be admitted to the Queen's presence: an answer to the contrary being made, her Majesty was soon gracious, and soon able to discourse in any language, a facility which the Turk admired,

[1] A biting jest by Richard Tarlton, the player, relative to old Burghley House in the Strand, as it was kept in the time of the old Lord Treasurer, is told in this very MS. in these words:—

'Tarlton called Burley-house gate, in the Strand towards the Savoy, the Lord Treasurers almes-gate, because it was seldom or never opened.'

Tarlton died in 1588: the date appended to this jest is Jan. 26, 1602, being that, perhaps, when the writer of the journal heard it.

and presented the Queen with the gift with which he had been provided. The whole seems to have been a silly piece of masquerading to gratify the vanity of Elizabeth. The first part of the preceding quotation relates to a dramatic dialogue or contest between a maid, a widow, and a wife,[1] which ended, out of compliment to the Queen, in the admission of the superiority of the condition of a virgin.

We also learn from the same contemporaneous authority, that in the summer of 1601 the Queen was at an entertainment given by the Lord Keeper, and that before she arrived

[1] In some respects, perhaps, similar to the poetical tract, *Tis merry when Gossips meet*, attributed, no doubt correctly, to Samuel Rowlands: this is a dialogue between a Maid, a Widow and a Wife, at a tavern; but the conclusion does not accord with the result mentioned by the writer of the Diary. It was printed in 1602 and 1609; and it is singular that in another part of his Table-book the writer inserts various quotations from this very piece, most of which correspond with the printed copy: there are, however, three extracts at the beginning, which are not found in the printed copy, and which possibly belonged to some Introduction now lost: it appears in the Diary in this shape:—

'Oct. 1602.

'Out of a poeme called, *It is merry when Gossips meete.*—S. R.

'Such a one is claret proofe; *i.e.* a good wine bibber.

Theres many deale upon the score for wyne,
When they should pay forgett the vintner's signe.

'*Of Dido and Æneas.*

She plyd him with the wyne in golden cup,
Turning the liquor in, the bottom up.'

Nine other quotations are given, but they need not be extracted, as they agree with the printed editions. It is material to observe, that they have no initials to indicate authorship, whereas in the Diary the letters S. R. would confirm the opinion, that the tract was written by Samuel Rowlands. In Nichols's *Progr. of Eliz.*, iii, 601, it is said, on the authority of John Chamberlain, that the Dialogue before the Queen, on the 6th of December, was by Sir John Davies, who certainly wrote a production of the kind.

at the mansion, she was entertained by a dialogue 'betweene the Bayly and a Dary-mayd'. The following is the only extract supplied, and it was supposed to be spoken by the Bailiff of the Lord Keeper:—'The M^rs^ of this fayre companie, though shee knowe the way to all mens hearts, yet shee knowes the way to few mens houses, except she love them verry well'. A part of the entertainments on the same occasion was drawing lots, or what the writer of the Diary calls 'Lotteries', each lady having some object with a motto assigned to her, as it were by chance, but no doubt a little contrivance was sometimes used, in order that the lot might be appropriate. For instance, on this occasion, the Queen drew 'Fortunes wheels', the motto being this :—

'Fortune must nowe noe more in triumphe ride;
The wheeles are yours that did hir chariot guide.'

In the same way, to the Countess of Kildare, one of the Queen's attendants, was given 'a girdle', with the following lines :—

'With Fortune's girdle happy may you bee;
But they that are lesse happy are more free.'

Many others are inserted in the Diary, to Lady Scroop, Lady Scudamore, Lady Effingham, Lady Newton, etc.; but the point the lines contain is now either blunted or lost. The whole collection is thus entitled :—'Some of the Lotteries which were the last summer at her Majestie being with the L. Keeper.'[1]

No theatre is named throughout the manuscript, but the subsequent paragraph, under the date of Feb. 7th, 1602, relates to a tragical occurrence that had taken place at one of

[1] The Lotteries, with an introduction, are printed in Davidson's *Poetical Rhapsody*, and from thence quoted by Mr. Nichols in vol. iii, p. 571, of his *Progr. of Eliz.* The whole Dialogue between the Bailiff and the Dairymaid may be found in the same work, iii, p. 586.

them on the Bank-side; probably the Hope, Rose or Swan, which were situated there, as well as the Globe, which last does not seem to have been used for the exhibition of fencers: at the others it was not uncommon for them to give their challenges, and play their prizes.

'Turner[1] and Dun, two famous fencers, playd their prizes this day at the Banke side: but Turner at last ran Dun so farre in the brayne at the eye, that he fell downe presently stone deade. A goodly sport in a Christian state to see one man kill another.'

We have reserved until last the matter in this curious volume that is personal, although, in point of actual interest, it claims a decided precedence.

First with regard to Shakespeare. The period when he wrote his *Twelfth Night, or What you Will*, has been much disputed among the commentators. Tyrwhitt was inclined to fix it in 1614, and Malone for some years was of the same opinion; but he afterwards changed the date he had adopted to 1607.[2] Chalmers thought he found circumstances in the play to justify him in naming 1613,[3] but what we are about to quote affords a striking, and at the same time a rarely occurring, and convincing proof, how little these conjectures merit confidence. That comedy was indisputably written before 1602; for in February of that year it was an established play, and so much liked, that it was chosen for performance at the Reader's Feast on Candlemas day, at the Inn of Court to which the author of this Diary belonged—most likely the Middle Temple, which at that date was famous for its costly entertainments. After reading the following quotation, it is utterly impossible, although the name of the poet be not

[1] See Wilson's *History of James I*, under date 1612, respecting the murder of Turner by Lord Sanquair, who was hanged for it.

[2] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, ii, 441.

[3] *Supplemental Apology*, p. 441.

mentioned, to feel a moment's doubt as to the identity of the play there described, and the production of Shakespeare.

'Feb. 2, 1601[-2].

'At our feast we had a play called *Twelve night or what you will*, much like the commedy of errors, or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian called *Inganni*. A good practise in it to make the steward believe his lady widdowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a letter, as from his lady, in generall termes telling him what shee liked best in him, & prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparaile, &c. and then when he came to practise, making him beleeve they tooke him to be mad."

At this date, we may conclude with tolerable safety that Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* had been recently brought out at the Blackfriars Theatre, and that its excellence and success had induced the managers of the Reader's Feast to select it for performance, as part of the entertainments on that occasion. There is no reason to suppose that any of Shakespeare's productions were represented for the first time anywhere but at a theatre. The *Comedy of Errors* noticed in the preceding extract, was no doubt also Shakespeare's work mentioned by Meres[1] in 1598, and not the old *History of Error* performed at Hampton Court in 1576-7. The *Menechmi*, likewise spoken of, was of course the play of Plautus, as translated by W. W., and printed in 1595. Should the Italian comedy, called *Inganni*, turn up, we shall probably find in it the actual original of *Twelfth Night*, which, it has been hitherto supposed, was founded upon the story of *Apollonius and Silla* in Barnabe Rich's *Farewell to Militarie Profession*, twice printed, viz. in 1583 and 1606. It is remarkable, that this is the only notice of a play throughout the diary; and although Manningham went much into company, he does not

[1] *Palladis Tamia. Wits' Treasury*, 1598, fol. 282.

appear on any occasion to have visited a public theatre. He was very regular in his attendance at Church, both at the Temple and St. Paul's, and inserts long accounts of the preachers and their sermons.

On looking back to the life of Shakespeare, the first observation that must be made is, that so few *facts* are extant regarding him: nearly everything interesting is derived from tradition, or depends upon conjecture; and Steevens, in a note upon Shakespeare's 93rd sonnet, very truly remarks, 'All that is known with any degree of certainty concerning Shakespeare is—that he was born at Stratford-upon-Avon—married and had children there—went to London, where he commenced actor, and wrote poems and plays—returned to Stratford, made his will, died, and was buried.' There is, however, in the manuscript Diary under consideration a personal anecdote regarding our great dramatist, which possibly may serve to explain a good deal that has been considered obscure in his Sonnets. Much has been said at different times on the moral character of Shakespeare, as if in this respect he were far superior to the manners of the time in which he lived; and Boswell, in the last edition of his works,[1] expressly observes, 'We may lament that we know so little of his history; but this, at least, may be asserted with confidence, that at no time was the slightest imputation cast upon his moral character.' This statement has reference to such of Shakespeare's sonnets as, taken literally, and, as we apprehend, not a few of them ought to be taken, indicate that Shakespeare was not in this respect more pure and perfect than many of his contemporaries. We think it extremely probable that some of those sonnets were composed for other people, who could not write them for themselves, and who wished to make a favourable impression;

[1] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, xx, 220.

but others, undoubtedly, have a personal allusion to himself, and the difficulty is how to separate the one from the other. If we may believe the plain import of his 69th sonnet, in particular, he was at one period in love with a female who was not very chary of her reputation:

'But why thy odour matcheth not thy show
The solve is this—that thou dost common grow;'

and he over and over again laments the disgrace brought upon himself by his misconduct: in his 112th sonnet he says,

'Your love and pity doth the impression fill,
Which vulgar scandal stamped upon my brow.'

Again, in his 121st sonnet, beginning 'Tis better to be vile, than vile esteemed,' he exclaims,

'No—I am that I am; and they that level
At my abuses reckon up their own;'

while, in his 131st sonnet, he tells the female, on account of whom he had been attacked,

'In nothing art thou black, save in thy deeds;
And thence this slander, as I think, proceeds:'

so that although it may be very true, that no imputation upon his moral character had been derived from extraneous sources, when Steevens, or when Boswell wrote, yet, if we are to believe himself, although a married man, with a wife and family at Stratford, he was not immaculate. The difficulty of reconciling much that is contained in the sonnets has arisen from an amiable desire to think Shakespeare's moral and poetical character equally perfect.

Whether the anecdote in question be true, or untrue, whether it were a mere joke, or the invention of 'vulgar scandal,' it comes recommended to our notice upon tolerably good authority. Nicholas Tooley was one of the actors in Shakespeare's plays, and belonged to the company of the

Globe theatre in 1599; and it is very possible that the author of this Diary had met with him at some ordinary in London, and had heard from him the story in question, as we find the words 'Mr. Tooley' subjoined at the end of it, as the person from whom the writer had received it. It is inserted, without any observation regarding its truth or falsehood, in the following manner:—

'March 13, 1601.

'Upon a tyme when Burbidge played Rich. 3, there was a citizen grewe so farre in liking with him, that before shee went from the play shee appointed him to come that night unto hir, by the name of Rich. the 3. Shakespeare, overhearing their conclusion, went before, was entertained, and at his game ere Burbidge came. Then, message being brought that Rich. the 3 was at the dore, Shakespeare caused returne to be made, that William the Conqueror was before Rich. the 3.—Shakespeares name Willm.—Mr. Tooly.'[1]

This may have been (as we have said) a mere slanderous invention, a harmless joke, or a plain truth; and it is not to be forgotten, in reference to the value of Tooley's authority, that he had been the apprentice of Richard Burbadge, and might have had the story from that distinguished performer, himself a party in it. In March 1601, Shakespeare was just

[1] So we read the name when we first discovered the anecdote: it is but fair to admit that others have read it *Touse;* but in printing it they placed a mark of interrogation after it, as if the point were doubtful. Under these circumstances we adhere to our old orthography: we know nothing of any person of the name of *Touse*, but Tooley was an actor, and intimate both with Shakespeare and Burbadge. Still we own that it looks more like Touse than Tooley, and *Touse* is certainly found in other parts of the MS. It was not uncommon for ladies (probably light ones) to go and sup with the players (see Field's *Amends for Ladies*, A. iii, sc. 4, and Middleton's *Mad World my Masters*, (Dyce's edit., ii, 412), but not so usual (as far as we know) for Players to go and sup with ladies: it was probably mutual, or indifferent.

commencing his 37th year, and how long before that date the circumstance had occurred is not mentioned; but Burbadge was the original Richard III, and that play was printed in 1597, and, perhaps, acted several years earlier.[1]

[1] The year 1597 has been assigned as the date when Shakespeare made his purchase of New Place, in Stratford-upon-Avon, but we cannot help thinking that this event in his life is fixed too early. He certainly did not buy the 107 acres of land, attached to the house called New Place, until May 1602, when he had become easy in his circumstances. In a very rare tract, (the only copy of which is in the Collection of Earl Spencer,) called '*Ratseis Ghost, or the Second Part of his Madde Prankes and Robberies*,' printed without date, but prior, as is supposed, to 1606, occurs a passage which mentions Shakespeare's *Hamlet* by name, and, if we mistake not, refers covertly to the author, to his acquisition of property, and, finally, to the purchase of the house and land in his native town. Gamaliel Ratsey was a highwayman, who had presented certain strolling players with 40*s.* for acting before him, and afterwards overtook them on their road, and robbed them of it. He gives them advice, and thus addresses himself to the principal performer:—

'And for you, sirrah, (says he to the chiefest of them,) thou hast a good presence upon a stage, methinks thou darkenst thy merit by playing in the country: get thee to London, for, if one man were dead, they will have much need of such as thou art. There would be none, in my opinion, fitter than thyself to play his parts: my conceit is such of thee, that I durst all the money in my purse on thy head to play Hamlet with him for a wager. There thou shalt learne to be frugal (for players were never so thrifty as they are now about London), and to feed upon all men; to let none feed upon thee; to make thy hand a stranger to thy pocket, thy heart slow to perform thy tongue's promise; and when thou feelest thy purse well lined, buy thee some place of lordship in the country, that, growing weary of playing, thy money may there bring thee to dignity and reputation: then thou needest care for no man; no, not for them that before made thee proud with speaking their words on the stage. Sir, I thank you (quoth the player) for this good council: I promise you I will make use of it; for I have heard, indeed, of some that have gone to London very meanly, and have come in time to be exceeding wealthy.'

It is not to be disputed that what is here said is even more applicable to Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College, than to Shakespeare.

Ben Jonson[1] is only once mentioned in the same Diary, but the date and circumstances are both remarkable. It is known that he wrote nothing between his *Poetaster* in 1601, and his *Sejanus* in 1603; and in the interval, Dekker produced his *Satiromastix*, in ridicule of Ben Jonson, and, as far as we can now judge, it was popular. Ben Jonson, therefore, seems in consequence to have withdrawn himself temporarily from the theatre, between 1601, when his 'comic muse had proved so ominous' to him, and 1603, when he tried 'if tragedy had a more kind aspect.' The following short paragraph accounts for him in the interval.

'February 12, 1602.

'Ben Johnson, the poet, nowe lives upon one Townesend, and scornes the world. So Overbury.'

Townesend was, probably, some person who admired Jonson's genius, and thought that justice was not done to him by the public.[2] The meaning of the addition, 'So Overbury,' is evidently, that Sir Thomas Overbury, then a student of the Middle Temple, was the narrator of the fact.

John Marston was an author of Satires in 1598; and his

[1] It is a fact, not known to Malone and Gifford, that Ben Jonson was at first a sharer in the theatrical speculation of Henslowe, for whom he wrote his *Every Man in his Humour*, etc. The circumstance is thus stated in an entry in Henslowe's *Diary*:—

'R. [Received] of Bengemenes Johnsones shayer as foloweth, 1597.'

The only item entered under this head is 3*s*. 9*d*. received by Henslowe on the 8th of July 1597. After this date, Ben Jonson was usually in debt to Henslowe for advances on plays, written and to be written, so that the old manager does not seem to have followed up this account of receipts for Ben Jonson.

[2] A person of the name of Aurelian Townsend was author of two masks, both performed at court, and printed in 1631: the one was called *Albion's Triumph*, and the other, *Tempe Restored*. He was, possibly, the individual mentioned in the text.

play of *Antonio and Mellida* was printed in the year in which he is noticed in the Barrister's Diary. His *Malecontent* had, however, been written more than two years earlier, and seems to have attracted a good deal of attention.[1] The subsequent paragraph is very characteristic of his coarseness.

'November 21, 1602.

'Jo. Marstone, the last Christmas, when he daunct with Alderman Mores wives daughter, a Spaniard borne, fell into a strange commendation of hir witt and beauty. When he had done, she thought to pay him home, & told him, she thought he was a poet. 'Tis true, said he—for poets feigne and lye; and soe did I, when I commended your beauty, for you are exceeding foule.'

No other dramatic poets, or circumstances connected with the drama, are mentioned in this very curious collection of scraps: some matters that relate to other poets, we have subjoined in a note.[2]

The detail of facts and circumstances connected with the

[1] The *Malecontent* was acted by 'the King's Majesty's Servants', that is, the company playing at the Globe and Blackfriars, to which Shakespeare belonged; but, from a singular item in Henslowe's *Diary*, not noticed nor quoted by Malone, it is evident that Marston, when he first commenced dramatist, had engaged to write for Henslowe's company, for which Ben Jonson, Drayton, Dekker, Heywood, and many others wrote. It is in these terms,

'Lent unto Wm. Borne, the 28 of September 1599, to lend unto Mr. Maxton, the new poete [Mr. Marstone] in earnest of a booke called the some of 40*s*.'

The name *Mr. Marstone*, between brackets, was apparently interlined afterwards, when the old manager was better informed, that the name was not *Maxton*, as he had first written it. The title of the play was left blank, but it was very possibly the *Malecontent*, which bears internal evidence of having been composed prior to the year 1600.

[2] The following anecdote respecting Spenser has never before been told on such good authority, although it has been long known by tradition: it is disbelieved by Todd in his *Spenser*, i, lxvij, edit. 1805.

Stage is thus brought down to the close of the reign of Elizabeth;[1] but in order to render the account of its actual con-

'May 4, 1602.

'When her Majestie had given order, that Spenser should have a reward for his poems, but Spenser could have nothing, he presented her with these verses:—

'It pleased your Grace upon a tyme,
To graunt me reason for my ryme;
But from that tyme until this season,
I heard of neither rhyme nor reason.'

The barrister's informant, in this instance, was a person of the name of Touse, to whom he often refers as his voucher; but in Birch's *Memoirs*, i, 131, the epigram is assigned to Churchyard.

An epitaph upon Spenser is thus given:—

'*In Spenserum.*

'Famous alive, & dead, here is the ods,
Then god of poets, nowe poet of the gods.'

The following does more credit to his adversary, than to Sir Walter Raleigh, but not much to either:—

'Dec. 30, 1602.

'Sir W. Rawly made this rime upon the name of a gallant, one Mr. Noel:—

'Noe L.

'The word of deniall, & the letter of fifty,
Makes the gent's name, that will never be thrifty.'

'And Noel's answere.

'Raw Ly.

'The foe to the stomacke, & the word of disgrace,
Shews the gent's name with the bold face.'

(This jest, with a slight variation, is introduced into the Duke of Newcastle's *Triumphant Widow*, 1677, by a character called Justice Spoilwit. See also Aubrey's *Lives*, iii, 512, edit. 1813.)

There are several very coarse anecdotes regarding Sir John Davies: the following may be quoted:—

'April 10, 1603.

'Jo Davis reporteth that he is sworne the king's man; that the K. showed him great favours: *inepte*, he slaunders while he prayses.'

[1] Regarding the death of Queen Elizabeth the subsequent particulars,

dition at that period more complete and clear, it may be necessary briefly to notice the different theatres in use in the metropolis at her decease: a statement of the origin and progress of each is attempted in a subsequent part of this work.

derived, as will be seen, from the most authentic sources, are contained in the MS. Diary to which we have been already so much indebted. The short concluding paragraph, regarding the ring and Lord Essex, is peculiarly worthy of notice:—

'March 23. I was at the Court at Richmond to heare Dr. Parry, one of her Majesties Chaplens preache, and be assured whether the Queene were living or dead. I heard him, and was assured shee was then living. * * * These were present at his sermon. The Archbishop of Cant. the L. Keep. the L. Treasuror, L. Admirall, L. of Shrewsbury, E. of Worster, L. Cobham, L. Gray, Sir Willm. Knollys, Sir Ed. Wotton, &c.

'I dyned with Dr. Parry in the privy chamber, and understood by him, the Bishop of Chichester, the Deane of Canterbury, the Deane of Windsore, &c. that hir Majestie hath bin by fits troubled with melancholy some 3 or 4 moneths; but for this fortnight extreame oppressed with it, in soe much that she refused to eate any thing, to receive any phisicke, or admit any rest in bedd, till within these 2 or 3 dayes. Shee hath bin in a manner speachlesse for 2 dayes: very pensive and silent since shrovetides, sitting sometymes with her eye fixed upon one object many houres togither; yet she alwayes had her perfect senses and memory, & yesterday signified by the lifting up of her hand & eyes to heven, a signe which Dr. Parry entreated of hir, that she beleeved that fayth which she hath caused to be professed, and looked faythfully to be saved by Christs merits and mercy onely, and no other meanes. She tooke great delight in hearing prayers, would often at the name of Jesus lift up hir hands & eyes to heaven. Shee would not heare the Archb. speake of hope of hir longer lyfe, but when he prayed, or spake of heaven and those joyes, shee would hug his hand, &c. It seemes she might have lived yf shee would have used meanes, but shee would not be persuaded, and princes must not be forced. Hir physicians sayd she had a body of a firme & perfect constitution likely to have lived many yeares: a royal majesty is not priviledge against death.

The earliest performances in London, after the disuse of Miracle-plays and the decline of Morals, took place upon 'scaffolds, frames and stages,' erected in the yards of 'great inns.' The Orders of the Corporation of 1575, from which we quote, were directed against such exhibitions, mainly on the ground, that chambers, adjoining the galleries that surrounded the inn-yards, were made the scenes of great immorality. Those Orders contain nothing regarding any buildings appropriated to theatrical representations, because such as then existed were not under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen: the inn-yards, to which their objections are applied, were within the limits of the city. We have seen that, in 1557, the Boar's Head, Aldgate, was used for the purpose of representing a piece called *A Sack full of News;* and Stephen Gosson,[1] in his *School of Abuse*,

'March 24. This morninge about 3 at clocke her Majestie departed this lyfe, mildly like a lambe, easely like a ripe apple from the tree; *cum levi quadam febre, absq. gemitu.* Dr. Parry told me, that he was present, & sent his prayers before hir soule; and I doubt not but shee is amongst the royall saints in heaven in eternall joyes.

'April 4. Dr. Parry told me the Countess Kildare assured him, that the Queene caused the ring, wherewith shee was wedded to the crowne, to be cutt from her finger some six weeks before hir death; but wore a ring, which the E. of Essex gave her, unto the day of hir death.'

The following lines from Webster's *Devil's Law Case*, 1623, A. iii, sc. 3, allude to the ring sent by the Earl to the Queen, but not delivered by Lady Nottingham:—

> 'Let me die
> In the distraction of that worthy princess,
> Who loathed food and sleep, and ceremony,
> For thought of losing that brave gentleman
> She would fain have sav'd, had not a false conveyance
> Express'd him stubborn-hearted."

[1] After renouncing, and denouncing the Stage in 1579, Stephen Gosson went into the Church, and died Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in

1579, mentions the Bell-savage on Ludgate-hill, and the Bull, as inns at which dramatic performances took place.

Malone quotes the same author's *Playes confuted in five Actions*, to shew that 'about the year 1570 one or two regular play-houses were erected;'[1] but that tract was not printed until ten years afterwards, and it serves to fix no date. Although Malone was not aware of the existence of any earlier authority on the point, he was probably right in his conjecture. In 1575, at least, there must have been several 'regular playhouses,' not indeed in London, but in its immediate vicinity. In that year, it has been shown, that the Queen's Players presented a petition to the Privy Council, praying authority to perform within the city, 'the season of the year being past to play *at any of the houses* without the city.' The season for performing in the suburbs was the summer, when people could walk out to the play, or go thither in boats, and in the winter the actors were anxious to be allowed to exhibit within the walls.

The Queen's players inform us, that there were 'houses' for the purpose, but they mention none of them: we first learn the names of two from John Northbrooke's *Treatise, wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds, &c. are reproved,*

1623. In 1598 he published '*The Trumpet of Warre*, a Sermon preached on the 7th May 1598.' His earliest attack upon the stage bore the following title:—

'The Shoole of Abuse, conteining a pleasaunt invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such like Caterpillers of a Com'onwealth, setting up the Flagge of Defiance to their mischeivous exercise, and overthrowing their Bulwarkes by Prophane Writers, Naturall reason and common experience. A discourse as pleasaunt for gentlemen that favour learning, as profitable for all that will follow vertue. By Stephan Gosson. Stud. Oxon,' etc. Printed at London by Thomas Woodcocke, 1579.

[1] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 46.

which was licensed, and therefore ready for the press in 1577. They are there called 'the Theatre' and 'the Curtaine'; and that they were both situated near each other in Shoreditch, we know from the first edition of Stow's *Survey*, 1599, although Malone, Chalmers and others, from consulting only later impressions, have confounded 'the Theatre' with the play-house in Blackfriars. Recorder Fleetwood, fifteen years before Stow's *Survey* was published, in a letter to Lord Burghley (cited in the preceding *Annals of the Stage*, under the transactions of 1584), also speaks of a circumstance that had occurred 'very near the Theatre or Curtain,' as if they were contiguous. 'The Theatre' was called so emphatically, as a place devoted to the exhibition of dramatic representations; and 'the Curtain' was so named, probably, on account of the sign there hung out, indicative of the nature of the performances within.

The Blackfriars Theatre was erected about 1576, by James Burbadge and others, who had obtained the patent for playing in 1574. They commenced this undertaking in the liberties, in consequence of the Orders of the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the city in 1575, excluding players from all places within their jurisdiction. It is not mentioned by John Northbrooke, either because it was not finished when he wrote, or because it was a private house, and not so liable to objection as the two theatres he names. Stephen Gosson speaks of the Blackfriars in his *Playes confuted in five Actions*, printed about 1581: it continued in its original state until 1596, when it was in the hands of Richard Burbadge, Shakespeare, and others, and when it was enlarged and repaired, if not entirely rebuilt.

A theatre also existed at an early date in the liberty of the Whitefriars; and perhaps it owed its origin to the same cause as the Blackfriars, although we find no trace of it at that

period. Malone cites Richard Reulidge's *Monster lately found out and discovered*, printed in 1628, to show that the Whitefriars theatre was in being in 1580, but that author speaks very loosely and uncertainly on the point. The probability is, that it was built in or about 1576.[1]

Paris Garden was used for the baiting of bears, and other animals, in the reign of Henry VIII, but we can only conjecture as to the date when it began to be employed also as a building for the exhibition of plays. Thomas Nash in his *Strange Newes*, etc., printed in 1592, mentions the performance of puppets there: and Dekker, in his *Satiromastix*, 1602, asserts that Ben Jonson had acted there.

As early as 1586, there was a playhouse at Newington Butts, for the amusement of the citizens who strolled thither in the summer; and we find from Henslowe's *Diary*, etc., that many popular plays were represented at that theatre in 1594, and afterwards.

The Rose theatre on the Bankside, not far west of the foot of London Bridge, was probably constructed prior to 1587. It was repaired extensively by Philip Henslowe in 1591, and was in the possession of the Lord Admiral's company of players in 1593.

The Hope Theatre, near the same situation, was possibly constructed about the same time, but the information regarding it is scanty and inconclusive.

The Globe on the Bankside, which also belonged to the Blackfriars' Company (the first being used as their summer,

[1] John Stockwood in his *Sermon*, 1578, tells us that at that date there were eight play houses with a profit of £2000 a-year.

'For reckoning with the leaste, the gaine that is reaped of eight ordinarie places in the Citie, which I know, by playing but once a weeke (whereas many times they play twice and sometimes thrice) it amounteth to two thousand poundes by the yeare.'

and the last as their winter house), was built in 1594: at least, we may pretty safely infer that such was the date of its origin, by the discovery of a bond, dated 22nd of December, 1593, given by Richard Burbadge, for the due performance of covenants, on his part, connected with its construction. Here, and at the Blackfriars Theatre, all Shakespeare's plays were, we apprehend, first performed.

It seems most probable, that the Swan was not built until after the Globe: theatrical representations took place there in 1598, if not earlier.

The last theatre erected while Elizabeth was upon the throne was the Fortune in Golden-Lane, Whitecross-Street: It was projected by Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn in 1599, and it was finished, although a large theatre, before the close of the year 1600.

The foundation of these theatres can be certainly traced prior to the year 1600; and we hear of others early in the reign of James I, which, possibly, were erected before the demise of Elizabeth, although we are without any conclusive evidence upon the point. The children of St. Paul's also, at an early date, acted plays in the room appropriated to their education; but, independent of this, and some other infant companies, (the rise of which is noticed under the proper head hereafter,) it appears certain, that, between about 1570 and 1600, no less than eleven places had been constructed for, or were applied to, the purpose of dramatic exhibitions. They were these:—

The Theatre, built about 1570; the Curtain, 1570; the Blackfriars, 1576; the Whitefriars, 1576; the Newington Theatre, 1580; the Rose, 1585; the Hope, 1585; Paris Garden Playhouse, 1588; the Globe, 1594; the Swan, 1595; the Fortune, 1599.

Although an attempt was made by the Puritans, on the

building of the Fortune in 1599, to limit theatres to only two, it seems to have entirely failed; and at the death of Elizabeth, most, if not all the theatres above enumerated, were open either permanently or occasionally. The employment of inn-yards for the performance of plays was discontinued, as regular houses of the kind were established; but we still hear of several, such as the Red Bull in Smithfield, in full employment, especially during the continuance of Bartholomew Fair. It is not easy to ascertain when theatrical performances began there, probably at an earlier date than has been generally supposed. In a MS. ballad of the time of James I we read,

'The Red Bull
Is mostly full
Of drovers, carriers, carters;
But honest wenches
Will shun the benches,
And not there show their garters.'

It was a large house, and there were not usually benches in what was called 'the yard', or open part of the building: it had galleries round it, as in other old inns.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1603 TO THE YEAR 1617.

JAMES I evinced his strong disposition to favour theatrical amusements some years before he succeeded to the English throne: he was a poet himself, or at least had royal pretensions to that distinction; and, whatever posterity may have thought of his productions, his contemporaries placed him in the first rank, as a matter of course and courtesy.[1]

Towards the close of the year 1599, a company of English players arrived in Edinburgh;[2] whether they had, or had not, come by invitation, is not apparent, but it is undoubted that the King gave them every encouragement, and immediately granted them his licence to perform within the Burgh. This proceeding (according to Archbishop Spottiswood, in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 457) 'occasioned new jars between the King and the ministers of Edinburgh:' the latter exclaimed, 'in their sermons, against A. D. 1599.

[1] See Henry Constable's, W. Fouler's, and Henry Lok's *Sonnets*, before *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises*, printed by R. Waldegrave, about 1591.

[2] It has been supposed by some that Shakespeare was a member of this company, and that he even took his description of Macbeth's castle from local observation. No evidence can be produced either way, beyond Malone's conjecture, that Shakespeare could not have left London in 1599, in consequence of the production of his *Henry V* in that year. *Shakespeare by Boswell*, ii, 416.

stage-players, their unruliness and immodest behaviour; and in their sessions made an act prohibiting people 'to resort unto their plays, under pain of the church censures.' This act the King considered 'a discharge of his licence' to the players; and, from the same authority, we learn that he called the 'sessions before the Council, and ordered them to annul their act, and not to restrain the people from going to these comedies.' This spirited conduct at once produced its effect, and on the very next day, 'all that pleased were permitted to repair unto the same'; but the Archbishop adds, that it 'was to the great offence of the ministers.'

This proceeding in favour of the 'English Comedians' was the more bold on the part of the King, because in March 1574-5, (the same year in which so strong an effort was made to suppress dramatic representations in London,) the General Assembly had asserted its right to license all players, and had expressly forbidden that 'na clerk playes, comedies, or tragedies be maid of the cannonicall Scriptures, as weil new as auld, on Sabboth-day nor wark day; and that all profaine playes as are not maid upon authentick pairtes of Scripture' should be considered before they were publicly exhibited, and that they should not be allowed at all upon Sunday. In consequence of this Act, a company of players did not act at Perth, in 1589, without the licence of the consistory of the church first obtained;[1] and it was ten years afterwards, that James exercised, and enforced his royal prerogative to permit the performance of theatrical entertainments.

A. D. 1603. He arrived at the Charter-house on the 7th May 1603, and it seems to have been thought a proper mark of respect, that all the theatrical companies, then playing in London, should discontinue their performances, until

[1] Chalmers's *Apology*, p. 416.

they received the royal licence to renew them. This fact, now for the first time noticed, we learn from Henslowe's *Diary*, where he states, under date of 5th May, 1603, that the players with which he was connected 'left to play now at the King's coming'; and a regulation that would apply to one set of performers would, no doubt, apply to all.[1] By the same MS. we find also, that the performances were only suspended until the 9th May, when the Earl of Worcester's men began to play again: the entry is in these words:—

'Beginninge to playe agayne by the Kynges licence, issewd owt since for my Lord of Worsters men, as foloweth—1603, 9 of Maye.'

Taking these expressions literally and strictly, we should conclude that prior to the 9th May, within two days after his arrival in London, James I granted his royal licence to the Earl of Worcester's players; and that that document preceded, by at least ten days, a similar licence given to 'Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare and others': such may have been the fact; but as no document of the kind is extant, perhaps all we ought to infer from Henslowe's expressions is, that the players, having been silenced by the Lord Chamberlain on the 5th May, in anticipation of the arrival of the King, were permitted, in consequence of directions from the Crown, to continue their performances on the 9th May.

The licence '*pro Laurentio Fletcher et Willielmo Shake-*

[1] From the following entries in Henslowe's *Diary*, we may, perhaps conclude, that during the illness of Queen Elizabeth, and in consequence of the plague, some of the companies of players usually performing in London went into the country.

'Lent, the 12 March 1602, unto John Lowyn, when he went into the contrey with his companye to playe, 5*s*.

'Lent, the 12 March 1602, unto Thomas Blackwode, when he went into the contrey with his company to play, 10*s*.'

Elizabeth died twelve days afterwards.

speare et aliis,' bears date on the 9th May, 1603: Fletcher and Shakespeare were at that time at the head of the Lord Chamberlain's company, performing at the Globe in the summer, and at the Blackfriars in the winter; for although the former only is mentioned in the instrument, we have seen that, as early as 1596, Shakespeare, Burbage (so his name is spelt in 1603), and others, were engaged in the repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars theatre. The other actors, besides Fletcher and Shakespeare, enumerated in the licence of James I, were Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Hemmings, Henry Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, and Richard Cowlye, forming the principal members of what had previously been the Lord Chamberlain's company; but who, by virtue of this instrument in which they are termed 'our servants', became the King's players, and were so afterwards constantly distinguished. They, and their associates, were licensed to perform 'comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals and stage plays,' in any part of the kingdom. This document is subjoined in a note from the Privy Seal, preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and not from Rymer's *Fœdera*, whence it has hitherto been inaccurately quoted.[1]

Other members of the royal family adopted companies of

[1] The Privy Seal bears date two days earlier than the Patent under the Great Seal. It runs *literatim* thus:—

'By the King.

'Right trusty and wellbeloved Counsellor, we greete you well, & will and commaund you, that under our privie Seale, in your custody for the time being, you cause our letters to be derected to the keeper of our greate seale of England, commaunding him, under our said greate Seale, he cause our letters to be made patents in forme following. James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Irland, defendor of the faith, &c. To all Justices, Maiors, Sheriffs, Constables, Headboroughes, and other our officers and loving subjects greeting.

performers, until then (in pursuance of the provisions of the 14th and 39th of Elizabeth) acting under the protection of particular noblemen. Thomas Heywood, in the dedication to his Γυναικειον, *or General History of Women*, 1624, mentions that he had been one of the servants of the Earl of Worcester, who, upon the accession of James I, 'bestowed him upon that excellent princess, Queen Anne.' The Queen's

Know ye, that we of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have licenced & authorized, and by these presentes doe licence & authorize, these our servants, Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Hemmings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowlye, and the rest of their associats, freely to use and exercise the arte and faculty of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage plaies, and such other like, as thei have already studied, or hereafter shall use or studie, aswell for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure, when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure. And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage plaies, and such like, to shew & exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within theire now usuall howse called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as also within anie towne halls, or mout halls, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedome of any other citie, universitie, towne, or borough whatsoever within our said realmes and dominions. Willing and commaunding you, and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permit and suffer them heerin, without any your letts, hinderances or molestations, during our said pleasure, but also to be ayding or assisting to them, yf any wrong be to them offered. And to allowe them such former courtesies, as hathe bene given to men of their place and qualitie: and also what further favour you shall shew to these our servants for our sake, we shall take kindly at your hands. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given under our Signet at our mannor of Greenewiche, the seavententh day of May in the first yeere of our raigne of England, France & Ireland, & of Scotland the six & thirtieth.

'Ex. per LAKE.'

The Patent, as given by Rymer, bears date at Westminster.

servants, as they were subsequently called, performed in the first instance at the Red Bull, in Smithfield. No official copy of the formal licence, or patent, to the theatrical servants of Queen Anne has been discovered, but the following rough draft of it was found by us in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and we print it exactly as it stands, excepting that we have placed the many interlineations between brackets. It has no date, but in that respect it may be said to speak for itself; and the list of ten actors, it will be seen, includes Thomas Heywood: the whole list is as follows:—Thomas Greene, Christopher Beeston, Thomas Hawood, Richard Pyrkins, Robert Pallant, John Duke, Thomas Swynerton, James Hoult, Robert Beeston, and Robert Lee.

The instrument itself, as we meet with it in the rough draft, is in these terms: we may presume that it was ultimately issued in a corrected form.

"James, by the grace of God, Kynge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Justices [of peace], Maiors, Sheryfes, Vice-Chauncellors [of our Universities, Bailiffs], headboroughes, Constables, and to all other our Officers, Mynisters, and lovinge subjectes [to whome it may appertaine] Greeting. Knowe yee that wee of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and mere motion have lycensed and authorised, and by these presents doe lycense and authorise Thomas Greene, Christopher Beeston, Thomas Hawood, Richard Pyrkins, Robert Pallant, John Duke, Thomas Swynerton, James Hoult, Robert Beeston, and Robert Lee, servaunts unto our deare[st] wyfe [ther] Queene Anna, with the rest of there Associates, freely to use and exercise the art and faculty of playinge Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Morralls, Pastoralls, Stage Plaies, and such other lyke as they have already studied, or hereafter shall use or study, as well for the recreacion of our lovinge subjectes as for our solace and pleasure, when wee shall thinke good to see them duringe our pleasure. And the said Comedies, Trage-

dies, Histories, Enterludes, Morralls, Pastoralls, Stage Playes, and such like, to shew and exercise publikly, when the infection of the plague shall decrease to the nomber of thirty weekly within [our Cetie of] London, and the liberties [therof], aswell within there now usuall howsen, called the Curtayne and the Bores head, within our County of Middlesex, [as in] any other play-house not used by others, by the said [Thomas] Greene erected, or by him hereafter to be builte. And also within any Towne Halls or Mouthalls or other conveinyent places within the liberties and freedomes of any Cittie, Universitie, Towne, or Boroughe whatsoever within our said Realmes and Domynyons. Willing and commaundinge you and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permytt and suffer them [to use and exercise the said art of playing] without any your lettes, hinderaunces, or molestations, duringe our said pleasure, but also to be aydinge and assistinge unto them, yf any wronge be to them offered. And to allow them such former curtesies as hath [heretofore] bene gyven unto any men of their qualitie. Gyven, etc."

The above has no date nor place, but merely "Yeoven at the daye of in the yere of our Raygne of England"; while the following words, originally written before the supposed date, are erased—"And also what further favour any of our subjects shall shew to those our deare and lovynge wyfes servauntes for our sake, we shall take kyndly at your handes."

Prince Henry also had a company of players acting in his name, who occupied the Fortune, in Golding-lane, Cripplegate, and the Curtain, in Shoreditch: these last, prior to the death of Elizabeth, had been the servants of the Earl of Nottingham, and with them Henslowe was principally connected[1]: in his

[1] The following passage from Gilbert Dugdale's *Time Triumphant*, 1604, is here in point:—'Nay, see the beauty of our all kinde soveraigne! not only to the indifferent of worth, and the worthy of honour, did he freely deale about these causes, but to the meane gave grace; as taking to him the late Lord Chamberlain's servants, now the King's

Diary, under date of the 14th of March 1604, he states that Thomas Downton and Edward Juby were at the head of 'the company of the Prince's men', without mentioning Edward Alleyne, who unquestionably at that date acted with them: Henslowe seems never to have included his step-son in the list of performers; and in 1597, it appears by his account-book, that the Earl of Nottingham's players consisted of the following:—'William Borne, alias Bird; Gabriel Spenser; Martin Slater, or Slaughter; Richard Jones; Thomas Downton, or Dowton; Edward Juby; Thomas Towne; Gabriel Synger; and the two Jeffes.'

They were taken into the service of Prince Henry immediately after his father came to the Crown; and then the company consisted of these players, as their names stand in the Book of the Household Establishment of Prince Henry[1]:—Thomas Towne, Thomas Downton, William Byrde, Samuel Rowley, Edward Juby, Charles Massy, Humphrey Jeffes, Edward Colbrande, William Parre, Richard Pryore, William Stratford, Francis Grace, John Shanke.[2]

acters; the Queen taking to her the Earl of Worster's servants, that are now her acters; and the Prince, their son, Henry, Prince of Wales, full of hope, tooke to him the Earl of Nottingham his servants, who are now his acters: so that of Lords servants they are now the servants of the King, Queen, and Prince.' *Sign.* B.

[1] *Harl. MSS.*, No. 252. Dr. Birch, in the Appendix to his *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 455, enumerates also Anthony Jeffes, but he does not quote his authority: Anthony Jeffes was, of course, one of the 'two Jeffes' mentioned by Henslowe in 1597. Chalmers only follows Dr. Birch, not having examined the original document quoted in the text above.

[2] How it happens that the name of Edward Alleyn is not included it is not easy to explain, but we have the authority of Dekker for stating that he was one of the Prince's servants in 1603. In that rare tract by Dekker, describing the *Magnificent Entertainment* on the 15th of March

Another company, young aspirants, was also at this period taken under the special protection of the Queen; viz., those who had been the Children of the Chapel under Elizabeth, and who, after James I came to the crown, were called the Children of her Majesty's Revels. On the 30th of January 1603-4, a warrant was made out under the Privy Seal to appoint Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, Thomas Kendall, and Robert Payne, 'to provide, keep, and bring up a convenient number of children,' for the purpose of exhibiting 'plays and shews' before the Queen; and they were farther authorised to perform at the Blackfriars Theatre, or any other convenient place.[1] The instrument contains an unusual provision at its close, referring to a poet of great celebrity, and certainly trenching on the rights and powers of the Master of the Revels:—no 'plays or shews' were to be acted by the Children of the Queen's Revels, either before her Majesty or in public, which had not received the approbation and allowance of Samuel Daniel. This document,

1603, and printed with the date of 1604, we meet with the following passage regarding Alleyn:—

'Of all which personages *Genius* and *Thamesis* were the only speakers: *Thamesis* being represented by one of the Children of her Majesties Revels; *Genius* by M. Allin (servant to the young Prince) his gratulatory speech, which was delivered with excellent action, and a well tuned audible voice.'

Dekker also, in the same piece, mentions W. Bourne, or Borne, 'one of the servants of the young Prince', by which name William Birde was sometimes known: he is included in the preceding list. It is a circumstance not elsewhere noticed, that Thomas Middleton was the writer of a long speech in this *Magnificent Entertainment*, an obligation which Dekker there duly acknowledges.

[1] This, no doubt, as has before been remarked, is that 'eyry of children, little eyases that cry out on the top of question', mentioned in *Hamlet*, Act ii, sc. 2, and of whose superior popularity Shakespeare naturally complains.

which is subjoined in a note[1], is entirely new in the history of the Stage, and it shows how it happened that the Children of the Revels 'occasionally performed' at Blackfriars, a point which Malone was unable to explain.

On the 7th May, the day on which James I arrived at the Charter-house, a Proclamation bears date, against Monopolies, the extortions of Lawyers, etc., and which, very unexpectedly, contains, at its close, an order in the following form, against dramatic representations and certain games on Sunday: we transcribe the following from the printed original.

[1] We found it in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

'James, by the grace of God, etc. To all Maiors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Bailiffs, Constables, and to all other our officers, mynisters and loving subjects to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas the Queene, our deerest wife, hath for her pleasure & recreation, when she shall thinke it fitt to have any Playes or shewes, appointed her servants, Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, Thomas Kendall, and Robert Payne to provide & bring up a convenient nomber of children, who shalbe called Children of her Revells. Know ye, that we have appointed and authorized, and by these presents doe authorize and appoint the said Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, Thomas Kendall, and Robert Payne from tyme to tyme to provide, keep, and bring up a convenient nomber of Children, and them to practise and exercise in the quallitie of playing, by the name of Children of the Revells to the Queene *within the Blackfryers* in our Cittie of London, or in any other convenient place where they shall thinck fitt for that purpose. Wherefore we will and commaund you, and every of you, to whom it shall apperteyne, to permitt her said servants to keepe a convenient nomber of children by the name of the Children of her Revells, and them to exercise in the quallitie of playing according to her pleasure. Provided always, that no such Playes or Shewes shall be presented before the said Queene our wife by the said children, or by them any where publickly acted, but by *the approbation and allowance* of Samuel Daniell, whom her pleasure is to appoint for that purpose. And these our letters patents shalbe your sufficient warrant in this behalf. In witness whereof, etc. Given under our signet at our honor of Hampton Courte, the thirtieth day of January in the first yere of our raigne, etc. Ex. per Lake.'

'And for that we are informed that there hath beene heretofore great neglect in this kingdome of keeping the Sabbath-day: For better observing of the same, and avoyding all impious prophanation, we do straightly charge and commaund, that no Beare-bayting, Bul-bayting, Enterludes, common Playes, or other like disordered or unlawful Exercises, or Pastimes, be frequented, kept, or used at any time hereafter upon the Sabbath-day.

'Given at our Court at Theobalds, the 7 day of May, in the first yeare of our Reigne.'

The appointment of Daniel to be, as it were, Master of the Queen's Revels, may serve, perhaps, to solve the doubt that has hung over his nomination as Poet Laureate, a situation which Malone supposes him voluntarily to have filled. The selection of these four masters (of whom nothing further is known) may also account for the new constitution of the company of the Children of the Revels, upon which Gifford observes, when speaking of *Epicœne*, which was acted by them in 1609[1]. Of course, this comedy must have gone through the hands of Daniel, for his allowance, before it was represented; and at the date when it was brought out we have the evidence of the author himself, in his folio of 1616, that the following were among the members of the company 'provided and kept' by Kirkham, Hawkins, Kendall and Payne:—'Nat. Field, Gil. Carie, Hug. Attawel, Joh. Smith, Will. Barksted, Will. Pen, Ric. Allin, and Joh. Blaney'.[2]

[1] Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 61) says, that several of Ben Jonson's comedies were acted by the children of the Revels in the earlier part of King James's reign; but this is an oversight, from his confounding the plays by Ben Jonson performed by the children of the Chapel in the reign of Elizabeth, with the only piece by him represented by the children of the Queen's Revels in the reign of James I, viz., *Epicœne*.

[2] When the children of the Chapel performed Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* in 1601, 'the principal comedians were, Nat. Field, Sal. Pavy, Tho. Day, Joh. Underwood, Will. Ostler, Tho. Marton.' Thus we see that Field

How long the children of the Queen's Revels continued occasionally to perform at Blackfriars, we have no distinct evidence; but, on the title-page of Ben Jonson's *Case is Altered*, printed in 1609[1], they are called 'the children of Blackfriars'; so that up to that year they still had the use of that playhouse. The King's players certainly performed at the Blackfriars in the winter, when the Globe was shut; and, perhaps, the children of the Queen's Revels acted in it during the summer, when it was unoccupied by the King's players. The children of the Queen's Revels, not long afterwards, seem to have played at the Whitefriars Theatre.[2]

was, probably, the only performer retained by the new masters, when they remodelled the company as the children of the Queen's Revels. Salathiel Pavy is supposed to have died before James came to the throne; Gifford conjectures in 1601. *Ben Jonson's Works*, viii, 230. In Davies's *Scourge of Folly* (1611) W. Ostler is called 'the King of Actors'.

[1] We may take this opportunity of correcting an error by Gifford, when he states, that 'had chronology only been consulted, *The Case is Altered* should have stood at the head of Jonson's works.' He has himself shewn (Memoirs, xxv and xl) that *Every Man in his Humour* was written in 1596, and it was unquestionably acted in 1598 by the Lord Chamberlain's servants. It is quite as clear, and Gifford adduces the evidence upon the point, (*Ben Jonson's Works*, vi, 327) and relies upon it, that *The Case is Altered* was not written until after Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia*, printed in 1598, had called Anthony Munday 'the best plotter'. Ben Jonson's ridicule of Munday depends upon this expression.

[2] Nathaniel Field's *Woman is a Weathercock*, perhaps, his *Amends for Ladies*, Marston's (or Barkstead's) *Insatiate Countess*, and several others, might be mentioned as having been performed at the Whitefriars Theatre prior to 1612. *Woman is a Weathercock* was printed in 1612; *Amends for Ladies*, which is its sequel, not until 1618; but there is a piece of evidence, never yet adduced, to show that both must have been written and acted anterior to 1611, an earlier date than has yet been assigned to either of them. In the 'Admonition to a discontented Romanist', at the end of Anthony Stafford's *Niobe dissolved into a Nilus*, 1611, occurs this sentence, clearly referring to the title of Field's second play:—'No, no, Sir: I will never write an *Amends for Women* 'till I see women amended.'

Very soon after Daniel's appointment, probably before the termination of 1604, a play was produced and acted by the children of the Revels, which occasioned some trouble to the three authors of it—Marston, Jonson and Chapman—although we do not discover any circumstance to show that Daniel shared their suffering or disgrace:—We allude to *Eastward Ho!* printed more than once in 1605. Some passages in this piece, as it was performed, reflected on the Scotch;[1] and Gifford informs us that they 'gave offence to Sir James Murray, who represented it in so strong a light to the King, that orders were given to arrest the authors. It does not appear that Jonson had any considerable share in the composition of this piece; but as he was undoubtedly privy to the writing of it, and "an accessory before the fact", he justly considered himself as equally implicated with the rest'.[2] The same acute biographer adds, that Jonson 'stood in such favour, that he

[1] Some of the copies of *Eastward Ho!* in 1605 are without the following passage, and hence it has been supposed that it was one of those which gave offence, and that it was omitted afterwards: what others were repeated in the performance we have no means of knowing; but nothing that was printed seems to warrant any severity of proceeding against the authors. Seagul (act iii, scene 1) thus speaks of *Virginia*:—'And then you shall live freely there without serjeants, or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers; only a few industrious Scots, perhaps, who indeed are dispersed over the face of the whole earth. But as for them, there are no greater friends to Englishmen and England, when they are out on't, in the world than they are: and for my part I would a hundred thousand of them were there, for we are all one countrymen now, you know, and we should find ten times more comfort of them there than we do here.' The part of the dialogue in act iv, scene 1, which relates to 'thirty pound knights', and to the manner in which knighthood was bestowed in the beginning of the reign of James I, would seem much more objectionable, and likely to produce imprisonment, did we not know that knighthood was often afterwards made a subject of ridicule by many dramatists with impunity.

[2] *Memoirs of Ben Jonson: Works*, 1, lxxiv.

was not molested; but this did not satisfy him, and he, therefore, with a high sense of honour, voluntarily accompanied his two friends to prison, determined to share their fate.' The facts connected with this transaction, we have upon the authority of Ben Jonson himself, who mentioned them in his conversation with Drummond of Hawthornden: we there find it noticed, that a report had prevailed that the three poets would be punished by cutting off their ears; but they were released, and Ben Jonson's mother, (who, as Gifford observes, must have been a high-spirited woman), at an entertainment given on their deliverance, at which Camden, Selden and others were present, drank to her son, 'and shewed him a paper which she designed, if the sentence had taken effect, to have mixed with his drink, and it was strong and lusty poison: to shew that she was no 'churl, she designed to have first drank of it herself'. It has been said, that Marston, Jonson and Chapman were set at liberty at the intercession of Camden and Selden: it may be so, but we are without proof of the fact.

In the winter of 1604, the King's players, who must have then been performing at Blackfriars, also appear to have at least run the risk of exciting the displeasure of the Court, by acting a play on the subject of the conspiracy of Earl Gowry, an event then of recent occurrence. In a letter of John Chamberlain to Sir R. Winwood, dated 18th of December 1604, the circumstance is noticed in these terms:— 'The tragedy of Gowry, with all action and actors, hath been twice represented by the King's players, with exceeding concourse of all sorts of people; but whether the matter or manner be not well handled, or that it be thought unfit that Princes should be played on the stage in their life-time, I hear that some great counsellors are much displeased with it, and so it is thought it shall be forbidden.' Whether it was,

or was not, prohibited, is uncertain, and no such play has survived to our day.

In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries is preserved a manuscript, which shows precisely the extent and amount of the musical and dramatic establishment of James I; and although it is without any precise date, we may pretty safely decide, that the account was made out soon after he ascended the throne. We find from it, that the annual fee of the Master of the Revels had been raised to 100*l.*, besides diet in Court; but each of the players was only allowed, as they had been from the time of Henry VII downwards, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum.[1]

The number of companies of players, acting under the name and protection of the nobility, very early in the reign of James I, attracted attention; and it was evidently thought, that the permission in this respect given by the 14 Eliz., c. 5, and the 39 Eliz., c. 4, was productive of considerable inconvenience. Accordingly, the provisions of those statutes were repealed by the 1 Jac. I, c. 7, which contains the following clause:—'Be it declared and enacted, that from henceforth, no authority to be given or made by any Baron of this realm, or any other honourable personage of greater degree, unto any other person or persons, shall be available to free or discharge the said persons, or any of them, from the pains and punishments in the said statute (39 Eliz., c. 4) mentioned.' Henceforward, therefore, all actors travelling round the

[1] *Antiq. Soc. MSS.* No. 74. The account runs thus:—

'*The Revells.* Mr of the Revells, fee 100*l.*, and diett, in courte. *Musitians.* Sarjant's fee, 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; The rest, fee, 38*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a-piece; Sagbutts, fee, 20*l.* a-piece; Drumslades, fee, 18*l.* 5*s.* a-piece; Fyfe, fee, 18*l.* 5*s.*; Players on Virginals, fee, 30*l.* a-piece; Musitians strangers, fee, 183*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; *Plaiers of interluds*, fee, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a-piece; Maker of Instruments, 20*l.*'

country, protected only by the licence of one of the nobility, were to be liable to the pains and penalties enacted against vagrants.

It is not easy to settle, with accuracy, how many theatres remained open soon after the accession of James I. We are certain that the Globe and Blackfriars theatres were in the hands of Shakespeare and the rest of the King's servants, and that the children of the Queen's Revels also occasionally performed at the Blackfriars: perhaps, while the Blackfriars was used by the King's servants in the winter, the children of the Queen's Revels retired to the Whitefriars theatre in the immediate neighbourhood; and we know that they played there in 1611. The Fortune, in Golding-lane[1], and the Curtain, in Shoreditch, were engaged by the servants of Prince Henry[2]: the Red Bull was in the hands of the company playing under the name of the Queen; and, at a subsequent date, we find them in possession of the Cockpit theatre in Drury-lane. The Hope, Swan, and Rose on the Bankside, had also theatrical tenants, at least occasionally, if not permanently: the last of these had been for many years in the possession of Philip Henslowe, and by a memorandum under his hand, dated 25th June 1603, it is to be inferred, that at that date his lease of the ground on which it stood was about to expire, and that he was negotiating for a renewal. He calls it 'the little Rose'; and it seems, that the rent required for

[1] The Fortune was open at Christmas 1603, as is evident from Henslowe's *Diary;* and a piece called *The Four Sons of Aymon* was then represented at it.

[2] Malone, in his *Inquiry* into the authenticity of the Shakespeare forgeries, p. 215, quotes a letter, dated April 9th, 1604, to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the Justices of the Peace of the Counties of Middlesex and Surrey, ordering them 'to permit and suffer the three companies of Players to the King, Queen, and Prince, to exercise ther plaies in ther severall and usuall howses, the Globe, the Fortune, and the Curtain.'

the ground was 20*l.*, and it was also stipulated, that he should lay out 100 marks on buildings connected with it. In the same memorandum he registers his opinion, that the demand was exorbitant, and he subjoins his determination (expressed to the party negotiating for the ground-landlord), rather to pull down the theatre, than to accept such terms. Prior to this date, the Newington theatre (in which, also, Henslowe had been concerned, mentioning it under the years 1594 and 1596) had no doubt been pulled down, or the use of it as a play-house discontinued.

Samuel Daniel had the honour of being called upon to provide a Mask for the first Christmas after James came to the throne: it was named *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*,[1] and it was presented by the Queen and her ladies on the 8th January 1603-4. There is no trace of any other performance of the same kind; nor is it known whether the King's servants, or any other players, were required to act during the festivities. There is no distinct account of any payments of the kind; but a MS. belonging to the Royal Society, purporting to be a statement of Exchequer receipts and payments from Michaelmas 1603 to Easter 1603-4, includes the subsequent item, which shows that the services of the officers of the Revels had been required in that interval. A. D. 1604.

'To Edmund Tillney, Esquire, Master of the Revells, for the fees and wages of sondry officers and ministers attending in the said office, as for sondry other necessaries delivered into that office, by Privy Seale, 100*l.*'

---

[1] From an original MS. of this mask it appears that the characters were thus supported:—

Juno, Lady Suffolk; *Pallas*, the Queen; *Venus*, Lady Rich; *Vesta*, Lady Hertford; *Diana*, Lady Bedford; *Proserpine*, Lady Derby; *Macaria*, Lady Hatton; *Concordia*, Lady Nottingham; *Astræa*, Lady Walsingham; *Flora*, Lady Susan Vere; *Ceres*, Lady Dorothy Hastings; *Tethes* (*i. e.*, Thetis), Lady Elizabeth Howard.

In the Audit Office an account has been preserved, which is headed 'The Declaration of the Accompte of Edmonde Tylney, Esquier, Master of the Maskes, Showes and Revells, etc., of one whole yeare begonne the last of Octobre, 1603, and ended the last of Octobre, 1604.'

The charge he makes is for attendance, on one occasion, at what is called 'the Tryumphe', and on another, 'at the receaving of the Constable of Spayne'. An item is also inserted for the 'hyir of lodging and certen roomes for thoffice at Kingston, for fower weeks, there being no roome in the Court, iiij*li.*' Another item is for making a new Musick House at Hampton Court, lx*s.*, and the sum total is clxvj*l.* ix*s.* x*d.* The whole account is signed 'T. Dorset'.

We have been able to find no Privy Seal for any such purpose; and the expenses of preparations for Masks were not then usually charged in the accounts of the Master of the Revels. Many instances will hereafter be produced, of separate payments, by virtue of Privy Seals, for Masks which were under the superintendence of a different individual.

In the commencement of this reign, Nathaniel Giles was continued in his office of Master of the Children of the Chapel; and, on the 17th Sept. 1604, he obtained, in that capacity, renewed letters patent[1] directed to 'all and singular Deans, Archdeacons, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and all other our officers and ministers,' authorising him, or his deputy, 'to take such and so many children, as he or his deputy shall think meet, in all Cathedral, Collegiate, Parish Churches, Chapels, and Schools, where public teaching of Music is used, etc. 'of our princely care for the advancement, helpe, and furtherance of such children;' and it adds, that 'after serving three years, if they lose their

[1] The Privy Seal was preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

voices, they shall be sent to College to be taught there at the King's charge.'

It appears by what is entitled 'a Briefe Collection of the Extraordinarie Payments' of the Court of James I, from the time when he came to the crown to the end of 1609, that the 'charges for Masks' amounted to no less a sum than 4215*l.*[1] It included the expenses of Ben Jonson's *Mask of Blackness*, on the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere in 1604-5,[2] and it is a circumstance, we believe nowhere noticed, that this piece exists, in the handwriting of the author, among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum: it is there called merely *The Twelvth Night's Revells;* and it is curious, as it differs materially from the printed copies, and seems to have

[1] A very considerable part of this sum seems to have been expended upon *The Mask of Blackness*, and the Revels of 1604-5: according to letters from John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, quoted by Gifford (*Ben Jonson's Works*, vii, 4) 3000*l.* were delivered from the Exchequer in one sum for the entertainments at Court during Christmas 1604-5.

[2] Malone quoted the following particulars regarding the Court amusements at Christmas 1604-5 from *Winwood's Memorials*, ii, 43: they are from a letter by Sir Dudley Carlton. 'At night (*i. e.*, Christmas night) we had the Queen's Mask in the Banqueting-house, or rather her Pageant. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by the Moors. The indecorum was, that there was all fish and no water. At the farther end was a great shell, in the form of a skallop, wherein were four seats: on the lowest sat the Queen with my Lady Bedford: on the rest were placed the Ladies Suffolk, Derby, etc. On St. John's day we had the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan performed at Whitehall with all the honour could be done a great favourite. The Court was great, and for that day put on the best bravery. At night there was a mask in the hall, which for conceit and fashion was suitable to the occasion. The presents of plate and other things, given by the noblemen, were valued at 2500*l.*; but that which made it a good marriage was a gift of the King's of 500*l.* land for the bride's jointure.' *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 84.

been intended by Ben Jonson mainly as a direction how the performance should be conducted. This remark applies chiefly to the prose descriptions, for the songs, with the exception of a few various readings,[1] are the same as in the old printed 4to. At the end is the following very neat inscription.

Hos ego Versiculos feci.
Ben: Jonson.

The sum of 421*l.* seems likewise to have included some of the charges for getting up and bringing out the same poet's *Hymenæi* on the marriage of the Earl of Essex, celebrated on Twelfth Night, 1605-6. Regarding this performance there is a curious and minute account in a letter from John Pory to Sir Robert Cotton, among the MSS. of the latter in the British Museum.[2] It has no date, but it bears internal evidence of the time when it was written.

'I have seen both the Maske on Sunday, and the Barriers on Munday night. The Bridegroom carried himself as gravely and gracefully, as if he were of his father's age. He had greater guiftes

---

[1] They would all have been well worth noting had Mr. Gifford been aware of the existence of the MS. coming from no less an authority than that of Ben Jonson himself. As a specimen, the following two lines from the echo song, near the close, may be quoted: in the MS. they stand,

'If not, impute it each to other matter,
They are but earth, and what you *owed* was water.'

Ben Jonson would hardly have written *owed* with his own minutely accurate hand, if he had meant *vowed*, as it is given in Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, vii, 17.

'If not, impute it each to other matter,
They are but earth, and what you *vowed* was water.'

[2] *Cotton. MSS. Julius*, c. iii. It has hitherto escaped all notice.

given him then my Lord of Mountgomery had, his plate being valued at 3000li & his jewels, mony and other guifts at 1000li more. But to returne to the Maske. Both Inigo, Ben and the actors men and weomen did their partes with great commendation. The conceipt or soule of the mask was Hymen bringing in a bride, and Juno pronuba's priest a bridegroome, proclaiming that those two should be sacrificed to Nuptial Union: and here the poet made an apostrophe to the union of kingdomes. But before the sacrifice could be performed, Ben Jonson burned the globe of the erth standing behind the altar, and within the concave sate the 8 men-maskers, representing the 4 humors and the fower affections, who leaped forth to disturb the sacrifice to union; but amidst their fury, Reason, that sate above them all, crowned with * * * and silence them.[1] These 8, together with Reason their moderatresse, mounted above their heades, sate somewhat like the Ladies in the scallop shell last year. Above the globe of erth hovered a middle region of cloudes, in the centre whereof stood a grand consort of musicians; and upon the Cantons, or hornes, sate the ladies, 4 at one corner and 4 at another, who descended upon the stage, not after the stale, downright, perpendicular fashion, like a bucket into a well, but came gently sloping down. These eight, after the sacrifice was ended, represented the 8 nuptial powers of Juno pronubas, who came downe to confirm the union. The men were clad in crimson, the weomen in white. They had every one a white plume of the richest herons fethers, and were so rich in jewels upon their heades as was most glorious. I think they hired and borrowed all the principall jewels and ropes of perle both in court and citty. The Spanish Ambassador seemed but poore to the meanest of them. They daunced all variety of daunces, both severally and *promiscuè*, and then the weomen tooke in the men, as namely the prince (who danced with as great perfection, and as settled a majesty as could be devised), the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke, &c. And the men gleaned out the Queen, the bride, and the

[1] The MS. has here been worn away, from the binding not being long enough for the manuscript.

greatest of the ladies. The second night the Barriers were as well performed, 15 against 15, the Duke of Lenox being chieftain on the one side, and my Lord of Sussex on the other.'

The following paragraphs, extracted from the late Earl of Ellesmere's translation of Von Raumer's *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*', are very remarkable as regards theatrical performances in London in the spring of 1606: Beaumont, the French Ambassador in London, thus wrote, clearly referring to George Chapman's *Conspiracy and Tragedy of the Duke of Byron*, both which were printed in 1608, but had been brought out two years earlier.

'April 5, 1606. I caused certain Players to be forbid from acting the *History of the Duke of Biron;* when, however, they saw that the whole Court had left the town they persisted in acting it; nay, they brought upon the stage the Queen of France and Mademoiselle de Verneuil. The former having first accosted the latter with very hard words, gave her a box on the ear. At my suit three of them were arrested, but the principal person, the author, escaped.

'One or two days before they had brought forward their own King and his favourites in a very strange fashion. They made him curse and swear because he had been robbed of a bird, and beat a gentleman because he had called off the hounds from the scent.

'He has made an order that no play shall be henceforth acted in London; for the repeal of which order they have already offered 100,000 livres. Perhaps the permission will be again granted, but upon the condition that they represent no recent history, nor speak of the present time.'

Of course we find nothing of the kind in the copies of the Plays, as printed in London in 1608, 4to; but there can be no doubt, that as originally acted, in the Spring of 1606, such scenes were exhibited before the audiences at Blackfriars Theatre: the circumstance is very remarkable.

On Twelfth Night, 1606-7, a marriage was celebrated at

Whitehall, between Lord Hayes and the daughter of Lord Denny; and Thomas Campion, who calls himself 'Doctor of Physic', and who was also a poet, a critic, and a musical composer of some eminence, prepared a Mask for the occasion,[1] '*The Description*' of which, (without a name) with the music, and with a plate of one of the maskers in the gorgeous dress he wore, was published very soon afterwards with the date of 1607. It is long, but with considerable variety, and evidently must have been got up at great cost.[2]

[1] Dr. Campion, as is stated at the close where the music is appended, composed two airs himself: two more were by Lupo, one of King James's Lutanists, and a fifth by Thomas Giles, who was probably related to Nathaniel Giles, the Master of the Children of the Chapel. The whole invention of the Mask was the work of Campion, who, in 1602, had published *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*. As his Mask is of great rarity, it may be worth while to quote the address 'To the Reader', with which it unusually terminates.

'Neither buskin now, nor bayes,
Challenge I: a Ladies prayse
Shall content my proudest hope.
Their applause was all my scope,
And to their shrines properly
Revels dedicated be:
Whose soft eares none ought to pierce
But with smooth and gentle verse.
Let the tragicke Poeme swell,
Raysing raging feendes from hell,
And let Epicke Dactyls range
Swelling seas and Countries strange:
Little room small things containes,
Easy praise quites easy paines.
Suffer them, whose browes do sweat,
To gain honour by the great:
It's enough if men me name
A Retailer of such fame.'

[2] According to the entries in the Stationers' Books, as quoted by

The King of Denmark arrived in England in July 1606; A. D. 1606. and Drummond of Hawthornden is very particular in his account of the proceedings of the Court on this occasion: with reference to the subject before us he remarks, —'There is nothing to be heard at Court, but sounding of trumpets, hautboys, music, revelling and comedies': and Malone was of opinion[1] that Shakespeare's *Macbeth* was produced at this date, and perhaps exhibited before the King: Gifford, on the other hand, thought this conjecture groundless,[2] and that Drummond only meant Court entertainments by the word 'comedies': had he not spoken of 'revelling' also, there might have been more ground for this position; and 'comedies', in the generic sense of plays, may possibly have included *Macbeth*. Ben Jonson wrote a sort of pageant, exhibited at Theobalds before the Kings of England and Denmark on the 24th of July 1606, but in the amusements of the Christmas following he had no concern.

The old play of *Mucedorus* was revived, with additions and alterations, in the beginning of the reign of James I, and the title-page of the edition of 1609 tells us that it was acted 'at Whitehall on Shrove-Sunday night'. This is obviously a very mangled performance, but one of the most important additions consists of two pages at the end, by way of Epilogue between Comedy and Envy, in which, among other things, Comedy says, on her knees before the King,

Chalmers (*Supp. Apol.* p. 201), Shakespeare's *King Lear* was one of the plays acted by the King's Servants before James I at Christmas 1606-7. The *Tragedy of Alexander the VI*, 'as it was played before his Majesty,' was perhaps another of the performances at the same period, although no date is given beyond the year when it was printed.

[1] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, ii, 418.

[2] Ben Jonson's *Works*, vii, 115.

'Vouchsafe to pardon our unwilling error,
So late presented to your gracious view,
And we'll endeavour, with excess of pain,
To please your senses in a choicer strain.'

This refers, of course, to some recent offence given at Court, probably by 'his Highness' servants usually playing at the Globe', by whom *Mucedorus* was acted on the occasion in question. From another passage we may gather, that some juvenile company had got into disgrace, for when Envy threatens what he will do to defeat the ends of Comedy, the latter replies :--

'This is a trap for boys, not men; nor such
Especially desertful in their doings,
Whose staid discretion rules their purposes.'

Comedy then challenges Envy to do his worst, and the latter says :—

'From my foul study will I hoist a wretch,
A lean and hungry, meagre canibal,
Whose jaws swell to his eyes with chawing malice;
And him I'll make a Poet.
Com.—What's that to the purpose?
Envy.—This scrambling raven, with his needy beard,
Will I whet on to write a comedy,
Wherein shall be compos'd dark sentences,
Pleasing to factious brains:
And every other where place me a jest,
Whose high abuse shall more torment than blowes:
Then I myself, quicker than lightning,
Will fly me to a puissant Magistrate,
And waiting with a trencher at his backe,
In midst of jollity rehearse those galls
(With some additions) so lately vented in your Theatre.
He upon this cannot but make complaint,
To your great danger, or at least restraint.'

The above must have had some personal and temporary application, now unfortunately lost.

In the mean time the performances at the public theatres seem to have met with much encouragement; and the example of the King would, of course, be followed by the nobility. The Puritans, who had renewed their attack upon dramatic performances a few years before the demise of Elizabeth, were silenced, and the passing of the 3d Jac. I, c. 21, entitled 'An Act to restraine the abuses of Players', deprived their enemies of one of their strongest arguments. It was passed 'for the preventing and avoiding the great abuse of the holy name of God in stage-plays, interludes, may-games, shewes and such like'; and it inflicted a penalty of 10*l.* on every person who should 'jestingly and profanely' use the 'holy name of God, or of Jesus Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of the Trinity', in any stage-play, interlude, shew, may-game, or pageant.

H. Parrot, in the Epistle before his *More the Merrier*, 1608, speaks somewhat darkly, but notices that both poets and players had suffered for their personal attacks and political allusions: he was not a play-poet, but he well knew the dramatists and the actors of his time: in fact, abuse of every kind had been carried to an excess that seemed intolerable.

Shakespeare, who was one of the leaders of the Lord Chamberlain's company when they received the royal patent of 19th May 1603, retired, in all probability, soon afterwards from the stage as an actor: the principal piece of evidence upon this point is the omission of his name, as one of the players in Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, acted in 1605, although it is found among those who performed the same dramatist's *Sejanus* in 1603; yet on the later occasion his assistance might have been more required, because, in the interval between 1603 and 1605, Augustine Phillipes, a most available

performer both in tragedy and comedy, who had also taken a part in *Sejanus*, had died. Shakespeare, however, continued to write for the Globe and Blackfriars theatres; and if it were true, that on the production of his *Macbeth*, James, with his own hand, wrote a letter to its author, in return for the compliment paid to him in that tragedy, it would indeed indicate a degree of royal condescension and encouragement, under which the drama could not but luxuriantly flourish. This interesting point depends, according to Oldys, merely upon the tradition of Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham; and it is not impossible, that a privy seal by James, granting to his players, of whom Shakespeare was one of the principal, some extraordinary reward, on a particular occasion (such as was given in more than one instance by Charles I), has been mistaken for a letter in the King's own hand, addressed individually to our great dramatist.[1]

Ben Jonson's *Mask of Beauty* was presented at Court on the 14th of January 1607-8; and his *Hue and Cry after Cupid* on the celebration of the marriage of Lord Haddington with

[1] Malone was disposed to believe this anecdote; and Boswell, in his continuation of the *Life of Shakespeare*, thus speaks of it:—'We have been told, on authority which there is no reason to doubt, that he (King James) wrote a letter to Shakespeare with his own hand: the story is told in the advertisement to Lintot's edition of *Shakespeare's Poems*, no date, but printed in 1710. The letter is there said to have been lost, but formerly to have been in the possession of Sir William Davenant, "as a credible person now living can testify." The person thus described, we learn from Mr. Oldys' MS. additions to *Fuller's Worthies*, was Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who was told it by Davenant himself. This letter is, with great probability, supposed by Dr. Farmer to have been written in return for the compliment paid to him in Macbeth.' (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, ii, 481.)

We cannot help thinking that, had the story been true, we should have possessed better evidence of the fact, than a mere tradition of this kind, especially if such a letter had been so recently in existence.

Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, on Shrove Tuesday following. The same poet's *Mask of Queens* was exhibited on the 2d of February 1608-9. We have no particulars of the expenses of these performances, beyond the 'briefe collection of extraordinarie payments' to the close of 1609, before quoted, and amounting in the whole to 4215*l.*[1] *The Mask of Queens*, penned with laborious neatness and accuracy by the hand of the author, is among the *Royal MSS.* in the British Museum, although the biographers of Ben Jonson appear to have been unaware of its existence. It includes the Dedication to Prince Henry, found in the 4to. of 1609, and omitted by the author in the folio of 1616 in consequence of the death of the Prince. There are no material variations between the MS. and the printed copy, beyond the conversion into notes, in the latter, of what is part of the text in the former.[2]

[1] The name of Inigo Jones is not mentioned in the accounts of expenses; but we know that he was employed upon these Masques from the following letter by Lords Suffolk and Worcester, calling upon the Lord Treasurer to pay him 100*l.* for his expenses on the several occasions; we copy it from the original.

'Right Ho^ble and o^r verie good Lord. Whereas by vertu of his Ma^ts Warrant bearinge date the fowerth of Marche 1609, your Lo^p is required and authorized to issue so much of his Highnes treasure, at such tymes, and by such portions, and to such persons as wee shall assigne: these are therefore verie haretelie to pray your good Lo^p to be pleased to give order that Mr. Inego Jones may have one hundreth pownds delivered unto him towards the makinge of such necessarie provisions for the Queens Ma^ts Maske, as he is presentlie imployed aboute; and these our lrs shall be unto your Lo^p a sufficient discharg in that behalf. In the meane tyme we rest as ever.

'Yo^r Lo^rps most assured Lovinge friends to com'aund,

'20 Aprilis 1610. T. SUFFOLKE. E. WORCESTER.'

[2] As the title of the original MS. differs slightly from the printed editions of 1609, and 1616, it may be worth while to quote it:—'The Masque of Queenes, celebrated from the House of Fame by the most

There is an account in the Audit Office, sent in by Tylney, applicable to the year from Nov. 1608 to Oct. 1609, but it only amounts to 252*l.* and is without a single item of interest: he, however, puts in a claim for an allowance for house-rent, as he had been deprived of his residence at St. John's, Clerkenwell, which he calculated at only 15*l.* a year. Matters, at this date, seem to have been taken very much out of his hands.

In what manner Kirkham, Hawkins, Kendall, and Payne proceeded with their undertaking, under the Privy Seal of the 31st of January 1603-4, appointing them Masters of the Children of the Queen's Revels, we are without any distinct information; but they did not continue at the head of that juvenile company more than six years. On the 4th of January 1609-10, a new patent,[1] of the same kind, was granted to Philip Rosseter (a performer on the Lute) and others; and the children of the Revels accordingly permanently established themselves at the Whitefriars Theatre, where they had performed, at least occasionally, while they were still under Kirkham and his three associates.

In a rare tract by Dekker, called *The Raven's Almanack*, printed in 1609, three companies only are spoken of, as then engaged in very active rivalry: although he names none of them, we can have little hesitation in deciding that two of them were the King's and Queen's servants, and possibly the third was the children of the Revels, under this

absolute in all state and Titles, Anne, Queene of Great Britayne, &c. with her honorable Ladyes. At white Hall Feb^{y} 2, 1609. Written by B. Jonson. *Et memorem famam, quæ benè gessit, habet.*'

[1] Neither the Patent nor the Privy Seal are extant, but the date and conditions of the former are recited in a subsequent grant to the same person, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. It does not appear whether at this date Samuel Daniel had still the superintendence and allowance of the pieces to be acted by the children of the Queen's Revels: he did not die until 1619.

new patent to Rosseter. In the division of his pamphlet, headed 'Autumn', Dekker thus prophesies:—

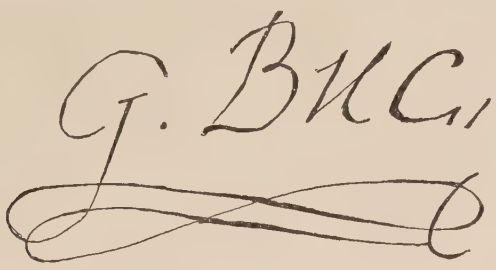
'Another civil war do I find will fall between players, which, albeit at the beginning of this fatal year they salute one another like sworn brothers, yet before the middle of it, shall they wish one another's throat cut for two pence. The contention of the two houses (the Gods be thanked) was appeased long ago, but a deadly war between these three houses will, I fear, burst out like thunder and lightning. For it is thought, that flag will be advanced, as it were in martial defiance, against flag[1]: numbers of people will also be mustered and fall to one side or other: the drums and trumpets must be sounded; parts will then, even by the chiefest players, be taken; words will pass to and fro, speeches cannot be so put up, hands will walk, and alarum be given: Fortune must favour them, else they are never able to stand.'

Various changes in the companies of performers seem to have occurred in the year 1609: and in the Patent Office we find what is called a 'special commission' to the following actors, to 'exercise the faculty of playing comedies, etc.', during pleasure; but no theatre is mentioned, and possibly they were allowed to exhibit in any place where they could make a profitable lodgment:—Thomas Greene, Christopher Beeston, Thomas Haywood, Richard Perkins, Richard Pallant, Thomas Swynerton, John Duke, Robert Lee, James Hoult, Robert Beeston. Some of the names are those of men apparently engaged about the same time in other companies: possibly, some of them acted twice-a-day, and at different theatres.

Edmund Tylney, who had been appointed Master of the Revels in 1579 (on the demise of Sir T. Benger), after filling the office for more than thirty years, died in October 1610,

[1] In reference, of course, to the hanging out of flags at the Theatres.

and was succeeded by Sir George Buc,[1] who for some time had discharged the duties of the situation, in consequence of the illness of his predecessor. He subscribed his name thus:



He superintended the department in the June before the death of Tylney,[2] on the fifth of which month, the day

[1] Sir George Buc, or Buck, was knighted in 1603; and, in 1605, he published a poem, called 'Δαφνις Πολυστεφανος. An eclog treating of Crownes and of Garlandes,' etc., addressed to the King. In the library at Bridgewater-house is a copy of this poem, which had been presented by the author to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and contains on the fly-leaf, in the handwriting of the author, the following stanza, not elsewhere printed:—

'To the right honorable the greatest counsellour, Sir Tho. Egerton, knight, baron of Ellesmere, Lord Chancellour of England, my very good Lord.

'Great and grave Lord, my mind hath longed long
In any thankfull maner to declare,
By act or woord, or were it in a song,
How great to you my obligations are;
Who did so nobly, and so timely pluck
From Griffins talons your distressed Buck.'

The nature of the obligation to Lord Ellesmere is not precisely known; but, perhaps, it was increased by the recommendation of Sir George Buck to be Master of the Revels, on the death of Tylney. A person of the name of Paul Bucke wrote a play, called *Three Lordes and Three Ladies of London*, printed in 1590: he was, perhaps, some relation to Sir George Buck. Prior to 1615, Sir George Buck wrote a distinct treatise on the office of the Revels and its duties.

[2] The Revels' account for this year was made out by Thomas Tylney,

after Henry had been created Prince of Wales, Daniel's *Tethys Festival* was represented at Whitehall: Inigo Jones, on the same occasion, devised the machinery. In Winwood's *State Papers*, it is said, that the Mask was 'a most glorious one', and there is no doubt that it gave complete satisfaction.[1] Daniel speaks very modestly of his own share in the exhibition:—'But in these things (he says), wherein the only life consists in shew, the art and invention of the architect gives the greatest grace, and is of most importance: ours the least part, and of least note': it is, however, the only part that is valuable, or permanent.

Gifford was at a loss to decide at what date Ben Jonson's *Mask of Oberon*, preceded by *Prince Henry's Barriers*, was performed.[2] He at first assigned it to the 5th of June 1610, when Daniel's production was exhibited; but he afterwards detected this error, though he still remained in doubt when it was produced. Nicholls, in his *Progresses of James I*, states correctly, that it was represented on the 1st of January 1610-11; and he quotes a letter from John More to Sir R. Winwood, dated 15th Dec. 1610, in which the following passage referring to it, and to two other performances of the same kind, occurs:—'Yet doth the Prince make but one Mask, and the Queen but two, which doth cost her Majesty but

Esq., 'Executor of the last will and Testament of Edmond Tylney, Esq., deceased.' It is from Nov. 1, 1609, to 31 Oct. 1610.—

'Painting of cloth for the musick howse, xij*s.*; Lock key and hinjes for the musickhowse, v*s.*'

The attendance, among other things, is for the 'triumphs used in memory of his Majesty's most happie raigne.'—Sum total, cccxxxix*li.* xiiij*s.*

[1] By *Cotton MS. Titus*, B. iv, we find that the cost of the production of Daniel's Mask was no less than 1636*l.* It is entered under the title 'Masks,' 'at the Prince, his creation, 1636*l.*'

[2] Ben Jonson's *Works*, viii, 279.

600*l.*; neither do I see any likelihood of any further extraordinary expense that this Christmas will bring.' The first mask here noticed was *Oberon*, and the two others, *Love freed from Ignorance and Folly*, and *Love Restored*,—all three by Ben Jonson.

In confirmation of what is said by John More as to the expense of these exhibitions, a MS. in the Cottonian Collection, headed, 'An Abstract of all his Majesty's expenses for one half year, ending March 25th, 1612',[1] may be cited: it there appears, that the Court Revels, at Christmas and Shrovetide 1610-11, cost 280*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*; this sum was independent of the charges of Sir George Buc for his department, amounting, during the half year, to the sum of 293*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; so that, in the whole, less than 600*l.* appears to have been expended.[2]

Prince Henry died at the age of nineteen, on the 6th Nov. 1612, but the gloom spread over the Court and kingdom by this event was soon enlivened by the splendour of royal entertainments. The Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who had arrived in the middle of October, for the purpose of being married to the Princess Elizabeth, was created a Knight of the Garter on the 29th December. It does not seem that any Masks were exhibited on New Year's Day, nor on Twelfth Day; but at Shrovetide, when the union was celebrated, three were presented. The first only was at the expense of the Court: it was called *The Lord's Mask*, was written by Dr. Campion, and was exhibited on Shrove Sunday, the 14th Feb. 1612-13. Two others were given at the expense

A. D. 1612.

[1] *Titus*, B. iv.

[2] In 1612, the King gave 'the House of St. John's,' where the office of the Revels had been held, to the Lord Aubignée, and allowed Alexander Stafford, 'Clerk Comptroller of the Tents and Revels,' 15*l.* per annum for house-rent in lieu of it.

of the four principal Inns of Court, viz., George Chapman's *Memorable Mask*, on the 15th February, by the Societies of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn; and Francis Beaumont's well-known production of the same description, on the 20th February,[1] by the Societies of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn. The machinery and contrivances for all three were by Inigo Jones: in the Chapter-house is preserved the original Privy Seal for the issue to Inigo Jones of any sums of money that the Earl of Suffolk (Lord Chamberlain) and the Earl of Worcester (Master of the Horse) might think necessary for the occasion.[2]

[1] Beaumont's mask was intended to have been performed on the 16th Feb. (Shrove Tuesday), and all the maskers went in state to Whitehall, by water, for the purpose: the following quotation from a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton, shows the cause of its postponement until the 20th February.

'But by what ill planet it fell out I know not, they (the maskers) came home as they went, without doing any thing: the reason whereof I cannot yet learn thoroughly, but only that the hall was so full, it was not possible to avoid it to make room for them; besides that most of the ladies were in the galleries to see them land, and could not get in.'

[2] As it is, we think, the earliest document, for such a purpose, yet discovered, it may be worth quoting.

'JAMES R.—Right trusty, and right welbeloved Cousin and Councellor, we greet you well; and will and commaund you, that under our Privy Seale, you cause our Letters to be made forth in form following:—James, by the grace of God, etc. To the Commissioners for the exercise of the office of our High Treasurer of England, and to the Treasurer and Undertreasurer of our Exchequer, for the time being, greeting. Whereas, we have resolved, and given speciall order and direction for a Maske to be provided against the solemnizing of the marriage betwene our dearest daughter the Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince Elector Palatyne of the Rhyne, and have referred the order and managing thereof unto the care of our right trusty, and right well beloved Cousins and Councillors, the Earle of Suffolk, our Chamberlen, and the Earle of Worcester, Master of our Horse, to looke into the emptions and provisions of all things neces-

According to Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, the getting up and presenting Chapman's Mask cost the Society of Lincoln's Inn alone 1086*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*; while the preparation of Beaumont's Mask occasioned an assessment upon the readers of Gray's Inn of 4*l.*; upon the ancients, of 2*l.* 10*s.*; upon the barristers, of 2*l.*, and upon the students, of 1*l.* each.[1]

In consequence of this marriage, the players, who, until the death of Prince Henry, had acted under his name, transferred

sary for the same. Theis shalbe, therefore, to will and require you to cause payment to be made from tyme to tyme, out of such our treasure as shall remayn in the receipt of our Exchequer, unto Inigo Jones, or to any other person or persons as shall either be employed in that service, or shall provide and furnish us with emptions, and other necessary provisions for the same, such somme and sommes of money as the said Lords shall, by letters under their hands, require you to pay. And these etc. Given at Westminster, the 7 day of January, in the 10th yeare of our raigne, etc.

'Ex. per LAKE.'

We may here add, on the authority of *Harl. MS.* No. 1857, the annual allowance for the office of the Surveyor of the Works, the situation at this time held by Inigo Jones. It is given in the following form:

'*The Works.*—Surveyor, Mr. Jones, fee 36*l.* 2*s.*; one Clarke at 6*d.* per day; expenses when he writeth, at 6*d.* per day, estimated at 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; botehire, at 20*d.* per day, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

[1] Dugdale's expressions are the following:—

'In the 10th of King James the gentlemen of the House were (together with those of the other Inns of Court) actors in that great Mask at Whitehall, at the marriage of the King's eldest daughter unto Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhene: the charge in apparel for the actors in which mask was supported by the Society, the Readers being each man assessed at 4*l.*; the Ancients, and such as at that time were to be called Ancients, at 2*l.* 10*s.* a-piece; the Barristers at 2*l.* a man; and the students at 20*s.*, out of which so much was to be taken as the Inner Temple did then allow.

'Which being performed, there was an order made, 18 May then next following, that the gentlemen who were actors in that Mask should bring in all their masking apparel so provided at the charge of the House.' Dugdale's *Origin. Jurid.*, 285.

their services to the Prince Palatine; and it is a new feature in theatrical history, that on this occasion they procured a patent under the Great Seal, very similar to that which James I had granted, about ten years before, to Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, and the other servants of the Lord Chamberlain. The Privy Seal directing the patent to be made out, was extant in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and is inserted below; the chief difference between that, and the Licence of the 19th of May 1603, being the insertion of a clause in the former, reserving to the Master of the Revels for the time being all his rights and powers. In this respect it more nearly resembles the precedent of the licence, originally granted to James Burbadge and others, in 1574.[1] The

[1] It runs thus:—

'JAMES R.—Right trusty, and right welbeloved Cousin and Councellor, we greet you well; and will and commaund you, that under our Privy Seale you cause our letters to be addressed to our Chauncellor of England, commaunding him that, under our great Seale of England, he cause our letters to be made forth patents in forme following:—James by the grace of God, etc. To all Justices, Mayors, Sherriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, Hedboroughes, and all other our officers and loving subjects greeting. Know ye that we of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion have licensed and authorised, and by theis presents do license and authorise Thomas Downton, William Bird, Edward Juby, Samuell Rowle, Charles Massey, Humphrey Jeffs, Franck Grace, William Cartwright, Edward Colbrand, William Parr, William Stratford, Richard Gunnell, John Shanck, and Richard Price, servants to our Sonne in lawe the Elector Palatine, and the rest of their associates, to use and exercise the art and facultie of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage Plaies, and such other like as they have already studied, or hereafter shall use or study; as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when we shall think good to see them, during our pleasure. And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage Plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, as well within their now usual howse called the Fortune, within our County of Middlesex, as also

actors thus forming the company of the Elector Palatine, were the following:—Thomas Downton, William Bird, Edward Juby, Samuel Rowle, Charles Massey, Humphrey Jeffes, Frank Grace, William Cartwright, Edward Colbrand, William Parr, William Stratford, Richard Gunnell, John Shank, and Richard Price, besides 'their associates', whose names are not inserted in the instrument. Thomas Towne, who, when they first became the servants of Prince Henry, was at the head of the company, had by this date either died or retired: Richard Price, mentioned in the Patent, was probably the Richard Pryore, who first joined the body in 1603, the

within any Towne halls or Moute halls, or other convenient places within the libertie and freedome of any Citie, Universitie, Towne or Borough whatsoever within our realmes and dominions. Willing and commaunding you, and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not onely to permit and suffer them herein without any your letts, hinderances or molestations, during our said pleasure, but also to be aiding and assisting unto them, if any wrong be to them offered, and to allow them such former curtesies, as hath ben given to men of their place and quality; and also what further favour you shall shew unto them for our sake we shall take kindly at your hands. Provided alwaies, and our will and pleasure is, that all authoritie, power, priviledges and profitts whatsoever, belonging and properly appertaining to the Master of our Revells in respect of his office, and every clause, article or graunt conteyned within the letters patent or commission, which have heretofore ben graunted or directed to our welbeloved servant Sir George Buck, knight, Master of our said Revells, shall remaine and abide entire, and in full force and estate and virtue, and in as ample sort as if this our commission had never ben made. In witness whereof etc. And theis our letters shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given under our Signet at our Pallace of Westminster, the fourth day of January, in the Tenth yeare of our Raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the six and fortith.

'Ex^d. 'Ex. per Lake.'

Addressed—'To our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and Counsellor Henry Earle of Northampton, keeper of our privy Seale.'

Indorsed—'COUNT PALATINE, Plaiers Commission.'

name having been mis-written. William Cartwright and Richard Gunnell were new members, perhaps taken from some other company. Till now, an association had usually consisted of only ten members, but here it was increased to fourteen.

We have information of four performances at Court in Dec. 1613, and Jan. and Feb. 1613-14. The first was on St. Stephen's night, 26th Dec., when Campion's Mask, on the marriage of the Earl of Somerset with Frances, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, was presented. It was followed on the 29th Dec. by Ben Jonson's *Irish Mask*, and on Twelfth-night by the anonymous *Mask of Flowers*, exhibited by the society of Gray's Inn. Daniel's 'Pastoral Comedy', called *Hymen's Triumph*, on the marriage of Lord Roxburgh with Mrs. Drummond, was played on the 3d Feb. 1613-14. Of the last, John Chamberlain thus speaks in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton: 'The entertainment was great, and cost the Queen, they say, above 3000*l.*; the Pastoral, by Samuel Daniel, was solemn and dull, but perhaps better to be read than represented.'

In a note by Steevens upon *Much Ado about Nothing*, it is A. D. 1613. said, that on the 20th of May 1613, Hemmings, the player, (then at the head of the King's servants) received the sum of 40*l.*, and 20*l.* more as the King's gratuity, for exhibiting that play and five others at Hampton Court. The performances, probably, took place at Christmas and Shrovetide; but Steevens quotes no authority for his statement.

Malone[1] says, that *The Winter's Tale* was another of the plays performed at this season, and that 'it appears from the MSS. of Mr. Vertue, that the *Tempest* was acted by John Hemminge, and the rest of the King's company, before Prince

[1] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, ii, 464.

Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince Palatine Elector in the beginning of the year 1613.'[1]

Although Nathaniel Field's *Woman is a Weathercock* was played by the Children of the Revels (*i. e.*, of the Queen's Revels) at Whitefriars prior to 1611, it seems, that shortly afterwards they were not in the sole or continued possession of that theatre. Taylor's *Hog hath lost his Pearl*, which professes on the title-page to have been 'acted by certain London Prentices', was performed there early in 1613; and Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter dated Tuesday, but without the day of the month, and headed '1612-13', gives the following account of the performance, and of the manner in which it was interrupted.

'On Sunday last, at night, and no longer, some sixteen Apprentices (of what sort you shall guess by the rest of the story) having secretly learnt a new play, without book, entitled *The Hog that hath lost his Pearl*,[2] took up the Whitefriars for their Theatre; and having invited

[1] The late Mr. Peter Cunningham, when a clerk in the Audit Office, found a memorandum from which it appeared that the *Tempest* was played before the King and Court on 1 November 1611: the difference is material; and, perhaps, the representation of it in 1612, mentioned by Vertue, was not the first performance of the play.

[2] Steevens relies upon the last line of the prologue to this play to shew that *Pericles* was not well received:—

'We'll say 'tis fortunate, like *Pericles*;'

adding, that a sneer was intended, and that 'to say a dramatic piece was *fortunate* is not to say it was *deserving*'. Malone, on the other hand, says, 'by fortunate, I understand highly successful'; but surely the point is settled at once by the following passage, not adverted to by either disputant, in Owen Feltham's 'Answer to an Ode of Come Leave the Loathed Stage', printed in his *Lusoria*, at the end of his *Resolves*, 1630:—

'They do throw a stain
Through all the unlikely plot, and do *displease*
As deep as *Pericles*.'

thither (as it should seem) rather their Mistresses than their Masters, who were all to enter *per bulletini*, for a note of distinction from ordinary comedians, towards the end of the play the Sheriffs (who by chance had heard of it) came in (as they say), and carried some six or seven of them to perform the last act at Bridewell: the rest are fled. Now, it is strange to hear how sharp-witted the City is, for they will needs have Sir John Swinnerton, the Lord Mayor, be meant by the *Hog*, and the late Lord Treasurer by the *Pearl*.'[1]

Hence we learn, that the Apprentices 'took up', or hired, the Whitefriars Theatre for the occasion, and that the audience was admitted, not upon payment of money at the doors, but by tickets. The interruption took place, probably, because the play reflected on Sir J. Swinnerton and the late Lord Treasurer, or, at least, such was the reason afterwards assigned for it. Yet, W. Smith's *Hector of Germany*, 1615, which was got up and acted by a company of citizens who 'took up' the Curtain Theatre for the purpose, was dedicated to Sir J. Swinnerton, 'some time Lord Mayor of London', as 'the great favourer of the Muses'.

About this period, for we have no means of fixing the date with precision, it seems that the Phœnix Theatre in Drury Lane was constructed, or rather converted from a Cockpit (a name which it also afterwards bore) into a play-house. Howes, in his continuation of Stow's *Chronicle*, speaking of it under date of March 1616-17, says, that it had then been lately built; and Camden, in his *Annals*, calls it *nuper erectum*. It was a private theatre, like those in Blackfriars and Whitefriars, and it was occupied, as has been already remarked, by the Queen's players. Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 53) expresses an opinion that they were subsequently named the Lady Elizabeth's players; but he was certainly mistaken, the

[1] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 402, edit. 1672.

Lady Elizabeth's players being a distinct company, at one time in connection with Henslowe.

This undertaking, like some others, possibly arose out of the fire at the Globe on the Bankside, which occurred on the 29th of June 1613, during the performance of a play called *All is True*, on the story of Henry VIII. It might be either Shakespeare's play, or Samuel Rowley's *When you see me you know me*, under a new name, or quite a different piece founded upon history. The details of this calamity are given in the separate history of that theatre, but it may be here worth while to subjoin, in a note, a ballad which was written upon the occasion, and which has been preserved in MS.[1] Howes,

[1] Soon after the event, 'a doleful ballad on the general conflagration of the famous Theatre on the Bankside, called the Globe', was entered on the Stationers' books for publication, and it, perhaps, was the subjoined production, which was printed in the *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxxxvi, p. 114. It is a very lame effusion, but it mentions some names of interest in the drama, viz., Richard Burbadge, Henry Condell, and John Hemmings, but not Shakespeare; which may afford some confirmation of the opinion, that he had retired from all concern with the theatre before the Globe was consumed. The burden of the ballad seems to have reference to the title of the play, which was in a course of performance at the time.

'A Sonnett upon the Pittifull Burneing of the Globe Play-house in London.

'Now sitt thee downe Melpomene,
Wrapt in a sea-cole robe,
And tell the dolefull tragedie,
That late was play'd at *Globe:*
For noe man that can singe or saye
Was scard upon St. Peter's daye.
Oh sorrow, pittifull sorrow, and yet all this is true!

'All yow that please to understand,
Come listen to my storye,
To see Death with his rakeing brande
'Mongst such an auditorye:

in his additions to Stow's *Chronicle*, referring to the disaster, mentions, that the Globe was rebuilt in the next spring, 'in far fairer manner than before', and it was certainly open through the summer of 1614.

Regarding neither Cardinall's might,
Nor yet the rugged face of Henry the eight.
Oh sorrow, etc.

'This fearfull fire beganne above,
A wonder strange and true,
And to the stage-howse did remove,
As round as Taylor's clewe;
And burnt downe both beam and snagge,
And did not spare the silken flagge.
Oh sorrow, etc.

'Out runne the Knights, out runne the Lords,
And there was great adoe,
Some lost their hatts, and some their swords;
Then out runne Burbidge too:
The reprobates, thoughe drunk on Munday,
Pray'd for the Foole, and Henry Condye.
Oh sorrow, etc.

'The perry wigs and drumme heads fryde,
Like to a butter firkin:
A wofull burneing did betide
To many a good buffe jerkin.
Then with swolne lipps, like drunken Flemmings,
Distressed stood old stuttering Heminges.
Oh sorrow, etc.

'Noe shower his raine did there downe force [*q.* sowse]
In all that sunn-shine weather,
To save that great renowned howse;
Nor thou, O ale-house! neither.
Had it begun belowe, sans doubte,
Their wives for feare had p——d it out.
Oh sorrow, etc.

The burning of the Globe seems also to have been the origin of another theatrical undertaking, which, perhaps, had for object the removal of the performance of plays from the theatres on the south side of the Thames. On the 13th of July 1613, Sir George Buc received 20*l.*, as his fee for 'a licence to erect a new playhouse in the Whitefriars.'[1] The old theatre there, which had been in existence prior to 1580, was, perhaps, in bad repair, and too small for the audiences it was hoped to attract after the burning of the Globe. If this new theatre were then built, of which there is no farther evidence, it was some years afterwards rebuilt, and then called the Salisbury Court playhouse; but most likely the rapid, and perhaps unexpected, reconstruction of the Globe inter-

'Be warned, you stage strutters all,
Least yow againe be catched,
And such a burneing doe befall,
As to them whose howse was thatched:
Forbeare your whoreing, breeding biles,
And lay up that expense for tiles.
Oh sorrow, etc.

'Goe drawe yow a petition,
And doe yow not abhorr itt,
And get, with low submission,
A licence to begg for itt;
In churches, sans churchwarden's checks,
In Surrey and in Middlesex.
Oh sorrow, pittifull sorrow, and yet all this is true!'

'The burning of the Globe theatre' in 1613 is commemorated in Decker's *Owle's Almanac*, 1617, p. 57.

[1] Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels in 1623, was in possession of the Register kept by Sir George Buc, and from it transcribed into his own office-book the entry in question, apparently with a view of making it a precedent in his own favour, should he be required to permit any project of the same kind.

fered with the execution of this enterprise in Whitefriars in the summer.

It appears by documentary evidence in the Audit Office, that in 11th James I, the Red Bull, an inn-yard, already mentioned, in Smithfield, was used as a playhouse, where the receipts were very minutely divided; for John Woodward complained that one Aaron Holland had not duly given him the eighteenth part of every penny paid for admission to the performances. The performances at the Red Bull seem at all times to have been highly popular.

The negociation of Henslowe in June 1603, to renew the lease of the ground on which the Rose Theatre on the Bankside stood, has been mentioned. Whether it was, or was not renewed, it is certain, that before 1613 that playhouse, as well as the Swan and the Hope, both near the Rose, had fallen into disuse. Of this fact, John Taylor, the Water-poet, affords distinct evidence in his *Watermans suit concerning Players*, where he states, that in 1612, the King's men at the Globe (of course before its destruction by fire) formed the only company that continued to play on the Bankside, those who occupied the other playhouses having crossed over the water to perform in Middlesex. As Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was acted at the Hope on the 31st of October 1614, it is very likely that, having been closed as a regular theatre, it was re-opened after the Globe had been consumed, and that it continued open some time after the Globe was rebuilt. It was at this period in the possession of 'the Lady Elizabeth's servants', for so Ben Jonson, on the title-page of his play, above named, calls them; and they seem to have been a company distinct from the Prince Palatine's servants, who, as we have seen, exhibited at the Fortune.

The catastrophe at the Globe appears to have led to a third theatrical project; for, about two months after it had happened, Philip Henslowe, and his then co-proprietor Jacob

Meade, entered into an agreement with one Katherens, a carpenter, for the pulling down and reconstructing Paris Garden, in order that it might be more conveniently used, not merely as a place for bull-baiting, bear-beating, etc., but for the performance of dramatic productions. There is reason to believe that this work was executed according to the proposed design, but we are without distinct evidence of the fact.

In 1612 Henslowe was connected with the company called the Lady Elizabeth's servants, and they conceived that they had great reason to complain of him for oppression and malpractices. The 'articles of grievance' drawn up by Joseph Taylor, who was then at the head of the company,[1] show that in March 1612, the Lady Elizabeth's players had joined the performers called 'The Children of the Revels to the Queen', under Philip Rosseter, and separated again in March 1613. Henslowe then 'made up' a distinct company, which continued to perform (most likely at Paris Garden) A. D. until February 1614, when he broke up the estab- 1614. lishment by withdrawing some of the inferior performers, known by the term 'hired men', who were paid weekly wages, and had no proportionate share of the receipts. It appears from this document, that the speculation had been a profitable one, and that Henslowe retired, because the company was rapidly getting out of his debt, by repaying from their receipts the sums he had advanced.

The very rapid multiplication of professional actors at about this date forms the point of the subsequent epigram by a celebrated author, Richard Nicholls, who published it in 1614 in a collection of epigrams, which he called *The Furies:* as far as we know, he was neither actor nor play-poet.

[1] They were found at Dulwich College by Malone; but they are not preserved there now. See *Shakespeare by Boswell*, xxi, 416.

'In Fuscum.

'Fuscus is turn'd a Player; for in rage
He lately left his function for the stage,
In hope to out-act *Roscius* in a Sceane;
In care of which the fellowe's growne so leane,
That all men pitie him; but, *Fuscus*, know,
Players doe now as plentifully grow
As spawne of Frogs in March; yet evermore
The great devoure the lesse: be wise, therefore;
Procure thou some commendatorie letter
For the Burthmothos: 'tis a course farre better.'

It would not be difficult to multiply authorities to the same point. Burbadge was still the Roscius of the day.

In one of John Chamberlain's letters to Sir Dudley Carlton (quoted by Nichols in his *Progresses of James I*), dated the 5th of January 1614-15, occurs a remarkable paragraph respecting the new plays acted at Court, probably by the King's servants, which appear to have given little satisfaction:—'They have plays at Court (he says) every night, both holidays and working days, wherein they show great patience; being for the most part such poor stuff that, instead of delight, they send the auditory away with discontent.' He adds:—'Indeed our poets' brains and inventions are grown very dry, in so much, that of five new plays there is not one that pleases; and therefore they are driven to furbish over their old, which stand them in best stead, and bring them most profit.'

It is to be recollected, that at this date Shakespeare had retired from the stage about two years. Three of his plays seem to have been performed at Christmas or Shrovetide 1613-14, but we are entirely destitute of information what were the names of the plays represented immediately prior to the date of the letter of John Chamberlain. It is a remark

by Nichols, that Chamberlain, in the whole of his correspondence, never mentions either the name of Shakespeare, nor the title of any of his productions; but he rather hastily concludes that this omission shows how little Shakespeare was thought of by his contemporaries.[1] Chamberlain only speaks of Court-poets; and Shakespeare was never called upon to furnish any mask for the amusement of the King or Queen. What Sir Dudley Carlton's correspondent states regarding the tediousness of the new plays in 1614-15, and of the necessity for reviving older pieces, may not unfairly be taken as negative testimony of the superiority of Shakespeare to those who immediately succeeded him.

On Twelfth-night 1614-15, Ben Jonson's mask, called *Mercury Vindicated*, was performed.[2]

[1] *Progr. of James I*, iii, 26.

[2] *Progr. of James I*, iii, 60. The scenery and contrivances for this mask could not have been the invention of Inigo Jones, as in January 1614-15, he was in Rome. In the library of the Duke of Devonshire is the original memorandum and sketch-book of Inigo Jones, while he was in Italy, all in his own handwriting, and in the best possible preservation: on the title-page is written,—

ROMA.

Altro diletto che imparar non trovo.

It is full of spirited and characteristic drawings in pen and ink, from pictures and statues, and it proves that the writer was a very accomplished artist. It is a most remarkable and highly valuable relic. This was the second visit of Inigo Jones to Italy: he left England in 1612, and did not return until 1615, which confirms Gifford in his total denial of any quarrel be-

King James was at Cambridge early in the spring, and on the 9th of March 1614-15 (after the performance of two Latin plays, *Æmilia* and *Ignoramus*, on the two previous days), saw Tomkis's *Albumazar:* John Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, says, that it was 'of Trinity Colleges action and invention; but there was no great matter in it more than one good clown's part.'[1]

In 1615 we again hear of a company called 'the Prince's Players', meaning at that date the theatrical servants of Prince

tween Jones and Ben Jonson, on account of the supposed resemblance to the former of the character of Lanthorn Leatherhead, in the *Bartholomew Fair* of the latter.

We may mention here that among a great quantity of architectural drawings and designs by Inigo Jones and Webb, preserved at Chiswick, we found what affords a curious illustration of the Court exhibitions during the reigns of James I and Charles I, viz., the original drawings or sketches by Inigo Jones for the scenery of a great number of Masques written chiefly by Ben Jonson, but others were by Campion and Townshend. Some part was in relief and the rest in the flat, but painted upon 'shutters', so that opening or closing them presented a different view, changing a temple into a garden, etc. In the same chest we discovered what is still more valuable, the original sketches of the different characters and persons in the performances, together with some more finished drawings of the dresses and costume of the Lords and Ladies who supported the characters. The sketches are the freest drawings in the world, indicating a great command of hand: they are almost uniformly merely in pen and ink, and nothing can be more interesting. We suspect that Webb, who was much inferior to Jones, and who calls himself 'Servant to the Surveyor of Works', had a hand in the more finished and elaborate drawings, which were sometimes made by tracings from the original sketches of Inigo Jones, and which are in a far poorer, harder, and more cramped style.

[1] Among the expenses at Cambridge upon this occasion, in gifts, etc., to the followers and retainers of the Court, as registered by Nichols, we read the following entry:—'To the Kings poett, 10*s*.' It is not easy to settle to whom the bounty of the University was thus with such extravagant liberality extended.

Charles. The company of Prince Henry, as has been noticed, became the players of the Prince Palatine on his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, just after the death of Prince Henry. Joseph Taylor, who had been one of the Lady Elizabeth's servants early in 1614, was, in the first instance, at the head of the Prince's players in 1615, having, perhaps, joined after his separation from Henslowe. John Daniel seems likewise to have been an actor of some distinction in the same body; and on the 17th of July 1615, in his capacity of one of the servants of Prince Charles, obtained letters patent enabling him to bring up 'a company of children, and youths, in the quality of playing interludes and stage-plays.'

Ben Jonson's *Golden Age Restored* was twice exhibited during the festivities of Christmas 1615-16, viz. on New Year's Day and Twelfth Day. Gifford says, that 'it must have been a splendid and interesting performance.' By a MS. in the *Lansdowne Collection* (the particular reference to which has been lost), the charge of 528*l.* is made for the revels in this year; but as the expense of masks was usually entered among 'extraordinaries', it is very doubtful whether it would include the cost of the first representation, and repetition of this mask.

The Master of the Revels usually exercised the power of granting to the players what were called 'Lenten Dispensations' (on the payment of a certain fee), in order to enable them to act in Lent on any day of the week, excepting Tuesdays and Fridays, which were called Sermon Days. In March 1615-16, however, a special order was issued by the Lord Chamberlain, and communicated to the different companies through the Master of the Revels, expressly prohibiting any dramatic performances during Lent. This order was disobeyed, apparently, by all the companies; for on the 29th of March a warrant was issued by the Privy Council, com-

manding the leaders of several of them to make their appearance before it to answer for their misconduct. The persons summoned by name were John Hemmings, Richard Burbadge, Christopher Beeston, Robert Lee, William Rowley, John Newton, Thomas Downton, and Humphrey Jeffs; but as no entry is made in the register of their appearance on the day when they were required to attend, it is probable that their punishment was remitted on due submission to the Master of the Revels. All that appears upon the subject in the register of the Privy Council is inserted in a note.[1]

In this year also, we learn, from documents formerly in the Chapter House, Westminster, and from the Register of the Privy Council, that a design was on foot for constructing a second theatre in the liberty of the Blackfriars. A Privy Seal for a Patent was granted to Philip Rosseter, Philip Kingman, Robert Jones, and Ralph Reeve, who had bought ground and buildings near Puddle-wharf, and particularly a dwelling called Lady Saunders' house, for the purpose.[2] It was to be occupied by the Children of the Revels to the Queen, by the

[1] The entry bears date on the 29th of March 1615.

'A Warrant to John Sentie, one of the Messengers.

'Whereas John Hemmings, Richard Burbidge, Christopher Beeston, Robert Lee, William Rowley, John Newton, Thomas Downton, Humphry Jeffs, with others, stageplayers in and about the Citty of London, have presumed, notwithstanding the commaundement of the Lo. Chamberlayne, signified unto them by the Master of the Revells, to play this prohibited time of Lent. These are therefore to will and commaund you to make your repayre unto the persons abovenamed, and to charge them in his Majesty's name to make their appearance heere before us, of his Majesty's Privie Counsell, on Friday next at 8 of the clocke in the forenoon, without any excuse or delay. And in the meane time that neither they, nor the rest of their company, presume to present any playes or interludes, as they will answere the contrary at their perills.'

[2] It is a coincidence, hardly worthy of a note, that this very freehold of Puddlewharf and dock descended to the mother of the compiler of the

Prince's players, and by the Lady Elizabeth's players, to which last company, after the retirement of Henslowe, Rosseter had again joined himself.

'PRIVY SEAL FOR A ROYAL PATENT.[1]

'Right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and Councellor, we greet you well, and will and commaund you, that under our Privy Seale, being in your custody for the time being, you cause our letters to be addressed to our Chauncellor of England, commaunding him that under our Great Seale of England he cause our letters to be made forth patents in form following,—James, by the grace of God, kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendor of the faith, etc. To all Mayors, Sherriffs, Justices of peace, Bailiffs, Constables, Headboroughs, and to all other our officers, Ministers, and loving subjects, to whom theis presents shall come, greeting. Whereas wee, by our letters pattents sealed with our great seale of England, bearing date the fourth daie of January, in the seaventh yere of our raigne of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, and of Scotland the three and fortieth (for the consideration in the same letters patents expressed), did appoint and authorise Phillip Rossetter, and certaine others, from time to time to provide, keepe, and bring up a convenient number of children, and them to practise and exercise in the quallitie of playing, by the name of *Children of the Revells to the Queene*, within the Whitefryers, in the subburbes of our Cittie of London, or in any other convenient place where they, the said Phillip Rosseter and the rest of his partners, should thinke fitting for that purpose, as in and by the said letters pattents more at large appeareth. And whereas the said Phillip Rosseter, and the rest of his said partners have ever since trayned and practized a convenient nomber of

present volume. A dwelling house and sugar-refinery were built upon the ground long after the players had abandoned it, and in the dwelling house the mother of the present writer was born.

[1] This important original document escaped the researches of Chalmers, who, however, obtained from the Privy Council some extracts relating to it, which showed that a patent under the Great Seal had been duly made out in consequence of it.

Children of the Revells for the purpose aforesaid in a messuage or mansion house, being percell of the late dissolved Monastery called the Whitefryers, neere Fleete Streete in London, which the said Phillip Rosseter did lately hold for terme of certeine yeres expired: and whereas the said Phillip Rosseter, together with Phillipp Kingman, Robert Jones and Raph Reeve to continue the said service for the keeping and bringing up of children, to the solace and pleasure of our said most deare wife, and the better to practize and exercise them in the quallitie of playing by the name of the Children of the Revells to the Queene, hath lately taken in lease and farme divers buildings, cellers, sollars, chambers and yards, for the building of a play-house thereupon for the better practizing and exercise of the said Children of the Revells; all which premisses are sittuat and being within the precinct of the Blackfryers neere Puddlewharfe, in the subourbes of London, called by the name of the Ladie Saunders house, or otherwise Porters Hall, and now in the occupation of the said Robert Jones. Now know yee, that wee, of our especiall grace, certeyne knowledge, and meere motion, have given and graunted, and by theis presents, for us our heires and successors, doe give and graunt licence and authoritie unto the said Phillip Rosseter, Phillipp Kingman, Robert Jones and Raph Reeve, at their proper costs and chardges, to erect build and sett up, in and upon the said premisses before mentioned, one convenient Playhouse for the said Children of the Revells, the same Playhouse to be used by the Children of the Revells for the time being of the Queenes Majestie, and for the Princes Players, and for the Ladie Elizabeth's Players, soe tollerated or lawfully licenced to plaie exercise and practise them therein, any Lawe, Statute, Act of Parliament, restraint, or other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. Willing and commanding you, and every of you, our said Maiors, Sherriffs, Justices of peace, Bailiffs, Constables, Headborroughs, and all other our officers and Ministers for the time being, as ye tender our pleasure, to permit and suffer them therein without any your letts, hinderance, molestation, or disturbance whatsoever. In witness whereof etc. Given under our Signet, at our Mannour of Greenewiche, the last day of May in the thirteenth yeare of our raigne etc.' 'Ex. per LAKE'.

The grant of this new patent occasioned not a little consternation in the profession; and there is ground for concluding, that it had been conceded incautiously, the result of private influence. It does not seem that Rosseter and his co-undertakers proceeded immediately to act upon it, for, although dated in the spring, it was not attempted to carry it into effect until the autumn. They then began to pull down the house of Lady Saunders, and to commence building the new theatre very close to the then Church of St. Anne. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen took the alarm, and represented to the Privy Council, among other things, that the near neighbourhood of the playhouse would interfere with the performance of divine worship in the Church. Rosseter was accordingly required to return his letters-patent; and it was thought a matter of sufficient moment to be referred to Lord Chief Justice Coke, who reported that the grant extended 'to the building of a playhouse *without* the liberties of London, and not *within* the city'—a manifest injustice, inasmuch as the very spot to be occupied was mentioned in the Privy Seal above quoted. On the 26th of September 1615, therefore, the Privy Council issued an order, that no such theatre should be there constructed, and that the Lord Mayor should imprison any person who offered to proceed with it. Nevertheless (perhaps on the strength of the patronage which had, in the first instance, procured the licence, or because a Lord Mayor peculiarly hostile to the drama went out of office in the interval, and was succeeded by a chief magistrate of a different opinion) Rosseter persevered in his design, and by the 26th of January 1616-17, the building, to use the words of the Privy Council, was 'almost, if not fully, finished'. In order to give greater effect to the command to prevent the erection of a new theatre, the King's authority was now employed, and the Lord Mayor was written to on the day abovenamed in these terms:—

'You shall understand that his Majesty hath this day expressly signified his pleasure, that the same [playhouse] shall be pulled down, so as it be made unfit for any such use: whereof we require your Lordship to take notice, and cause it to be performed with all speed, and thereupon to certify us of your proceedings.'

Chalmers doubted whether the order had been enforced, and the new playhouse demolished, because, although he consulted the registers of the Privy Council, he did not find any entry stating that the Lord Mayor had certified the execution of the King's command.[1] The city authorities proceeded immediately to the work, and before three days had elapsed, the Privy Council was duly and formally made acquainted with the fact, that Rosseter's theatre had been 'made unfit for any such use' as that for which it had been constructed.

On Twelfth-night 1616-17, the *Mask of Christmas* by Ben Jonson was performed, and it was repeated on the 19th of January. In the *Lansdowne MSS.*, we find an entry of 'Mr. Sadler for the Masque, 400*l.*', which no doubt was for these two exhibitions. As to other expenses, we have some account of them from the Master of the Revels, whose bill for the year amounted to 970*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* This sum paid for 'a curtain of taffatea at Whitehall, and one at Greenwich, for Rushes at rehearsal, Rosemary and Bayes, Coachire at the marriage of Sir John Villiers at Hampton Court and for divers properties': the performances (which are not named) were at Whitehall, at Denmark House, at Greenwich, and at Hampton Court.

James I commenced his journey to Scotland on the 14th of March 1616-17; and very shortly previous to his departure an event occurred in theatrical history, which seems to have excited considerable alarm for the tranquillity of the metropolis during his absence. On Shrove Tuesday, March 4th, some riots occurred in Lincoln's Inn

A. D. 1616-17.

[1] *Apology for the Believers*, p. 464.

Fields (then an open space, unoccupied by houses) and in Drury-lane, where the mob, among whom the apprentices appear, as usual, to have been especially active, made an attack upon the Cockpit theatre. Camden, in his *Annals*, states that they pulled it down, and destroyed the wardrobe;[1] but, according to the account of the transaction in the Privy Council Register, which was drawn up on the following day, the mob only 'attempted to pull it down'. However, there is no doubt that they did very considerable damage, and that several lives were lost in the affray. The apprentices of London from time immemorial had claimed, or at least exercised, the right of attacking and demolishing houses of ill-fame on Shrove Tuesday,[2] and in this instance they carried their zeal for morals and mischief a degree farther. The most circumstantial account of this affair is contained in an old ballad on the occasion, which we copy from a contemporary print, and which is written with a good deal of spirit and cleverness: hence it would seem, that the principal injury done was to the doors and windows of the playhouse, and to the dresses and playbooks belonging to the company. Two of the leaders of the mob, Thomas Brent and John Cory,

[1] His words are, under the date of March 4, 1616-17:—'*Theatrum ludionum, nuper erectum in Drury lane, a furente multitudine diruitur, et apparatus dilaceratur.*'

[2] The Bawd, in *Eastward Hoe*, act iv, scene 3, complains that 'the prentices had made a riot upon her glass windows upon Shrove-tuesday'; and, in a note, the Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his edition of Webster's Works, gives the following apposite quotation from *Pasquil's Palinodia*, 1634:—

> 'It was the day, of all days in the year,
> That unto Bacchus hath his dedication,
> When mad-brain'd 'prentices, that no men feare,
> Overthrew the dens of bawdy recreation.'

Nothing could be easier than to multiply proofs to the same effect, were it necessary.

are mentioned by name, and they were, no doubt, among those who were soon afterwards severely punished. The ballad is entitled :—

'A Ballade in praise of London Prentices, and what they did at the Cock-pitt Playhouse in Drury Lane.

'The Prentices of London long
Have famous beene in story,
But now they are exceeding all
Their Chronicles of glory:
Looke back, some say, to other day,
But I say looke before ye,
And see the deed they have now done,
Tom Brent and Johnny Cory.

'Tom Brent said then to his merry men,
"Now whoop, my men, and hollow,
And to the Cockpitt let us goe,
I'll leade you like brave Rollo."[1]
Then Johnny Cory answerd straight,
In words much like Apollo:
"Lead, Tommy Brent, incontinent,
And we'll be sure to follow."

'Three score of these brave Prentices,
All fit for workes of wonder,
Rushd down the plaine of Drury Lane,
Like lightning and like thunder;
And there each dore, with hundreds more,
And windows burst asunder;
And to the tire-howse broke they in,
Which soon began to plunder.

[1] If the hero thus mentioned be Rollo, Duke of Normandy, it would prove, either that Fletcher's play was written considerably before the date at which it is supposed to have been first produced, or that the story on which it was founded was well known before he employed it for his purpose.

'"Now hold your hands, my merry men,"
Said Tom, "for I assure ye,
Who so begin to steale shall win
Mee both for judge and jury;
And eke for executioner
Within this lane of Drury:
But teare and rend, I'll stand your frend,
And well upholde your fury."

'King Priam's robes were soon in rags,
And broke his gilded scepter;
False Cressid's hood, that was so good
When loving Troylus kept her.[1]
Besse Brydges gowne, and Muli's crowne,
Who would ful faine have lept her:[2]
Had Thesus seene them use his queene
So ill, he had bewept hers.[3]

'Books olde and young on heap they flung,
And burnt them in the blazes,
Tom Dekker, Haywood, Middleton
And other wandring crayzes:[4]

---

[1] This might be Shakespeare's play, acted surreptitiously at the Cockpit, as it was the property of the King's servants: possibly, it was a different play on the same subject.

[2] Bess Bridges and Muli-sheg are characters in Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*, which was not printed until 1631, though written, as can be proved from internal evidence, before the death of Elizabeth. It was acted, no doubt, at this date at the Cockpit.

[3] Probably alluding to Heywood's *Silver Age*, printed in 1613, in which Theseus is introduced.

[4] This line may possibly allude to their strolling with companies round the country, or to their 'wandering' with their plays from theatre to theatre, sometimes writing for one company and sometimes for another, as they could procure purchasers.

Poor Daye that daye not scapte awaye;
And what still more amazes,
Immortall Cracke[1] was burnt all blacke,
Which every bodie praises.

'Now sing we laude with one accord
To these most *digni laude*,
Who thus intend to bring to end
All that is vile and bawdie.
All playes and whores, thrust out a'dores,
Seductive bothe and gawdie;
And praise wee these bold Prentices
Cum voce et cum corde.'

The damage to the theatre was probably not very extensive, as we soon afterwards find the company called the Queen's servants performing there.[2]

[1] Regarding this person or play, whichever it might be, we can give no information.

[2] The following is an extract from a letter, sent by the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor on the day following the disturbance: it was originally quoted by Chalmers from the *Registers*. 'For as much as the example of so foul and insolent a disorder may prove of dangerous consequence, if this should escape without sharp punishment of the principal offenders, we do, therefore, in his Majesty's name, expressly require your Lordship, and the rest of the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer for the City of London and County of Middlesex, to take it presently into your care to have a strict enquiry made for such as were of the company, as well apprentices or others, and for which to hold a special Sessions of Oyer and Terminer for that purpose, and there with severity to proceed against such as shall be found offenders, as to law and justice appertaineth.' The letter then proceeds to direct the City authorities to take measures for the removal and punishment of the 'great multitude of vagrant rogues' who had assisted in this riot. The date of it is March 5th, 1616-17. Decker thus refers to this event in his *Owle's Almanack*, 4to, 1617:—'Shrove Tuesday falls on this day on which the Prentices plucked down the Cock-pit, and on which they did alwaies use to rifle Madame Leake's house at the upper end of Shoreditch'—no doubt then a notorious house of ill-fame in a bad neighbourhood.

During the absence of the King in Scotland, the Queen was entertained at Greenwich, on the 4th of May, by a mask called *Cupid's Banishment*, written by a person of the name of Robert White, and 'presented to the Queen by the young gentlewomen of the Ladies Hall, in Deptford.' It was probably a performance by a girls' school; and the piece (from a MS. in the possession of Upcott) is printed by Nichols in the *Progresses of James I.* It was, of course, very graciously received by her Majesty.

We may add here, that the whole expense charged for the Revels this year was 908*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*: rushes and rosemary cost eleven shillings and sixpence. We derive the information from the Audit Office.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1617 TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

THE fondness of James for theatrical performances can scarcely be evidenced more strongly than by the fact that he was attended, during his journey to the North, by a regular company of players (probably those which were especially called the King's servants[1]), and that the children of the Chapel, and a number of musicians, also formed part of his retinue.[2] While he was still in Scotland, a warrant was issued for the payment of the players, and is thus recorded in the registers of the Privy Council:—

[1] It will be seen hereafter, that 'his Majesty's comedians' were required to attend Charles I in his progress in 1636; and, perhaps, the instance before us was then taken as a precedent.

[2] Arthur Wilson, in his *Life and Reign of James I*, thus speaks of the King's progress to his northern dominions:—'He begins his journey with the spring, warming the country as he went with the glories of the Court: taking such recreations by the way as might best beguile the days and cut them shorter, but lengthen the nights (contrary to the seasons), for what with hawking, hunting, and horse-racing, the days ran quickly away; and the nights with feasting, masking, and dancing, were the more extended. And the King had fit instruments for these sports about his person, as Sir George Goring, Sir Edward Zouch, Sir John Finnit, and others, that could fit and obtemperate the King's humour; for he loved such representations and disguises in their masqueradoes as were witty and sudden: the more ridiculous the more pleasant.'

'11th July, 1617.—A warrant to the L. Stanhope, Treasurer of his Majesties Chamber, to cause payment to be made to certaine players for three Stage Playes, that were acted before his Majestie in his journey to Scotland, such summes of money as is usual in the like kinde.'

The fact that James was also accompanied by the children of the Chapel, and 'singing men', appears from a satirical and abusive account of Scotland, written by some person who attended the King in his journey, and preserved among the Harleian MSS.[1] It is there said, that the Scotch had prevailed upon some of the children of the Chapel 'to eat oat-cakes for the maintenance of their voices', and that a party of the royal 'singing men' had arrived by sea. It is asserted of the Scotch generally, in reference to our subject, that 'they hold their nose if you talk of bear-baiting, and stop their ears if you talk of plays', and the production ends with these words:—'To conclude, I am fully persuaded, that if Christ and his Angels at the last day should come down in their white garments, they (the Scotch) would run away and cry, "The Children of the Chapel are come again to torment us! Let us flee from the abomination of these boys, and hide us in the mountains!"'

The Marquis d'Ancre was killed in Paris, in the middle of April 1617, and in June an attempt was made to bring that event upon the stage in London. Of this circumstance the Privy Council, during the absence of the King, obtained information, and the following letter was written by that body to Sir George Buc, Master of the Revels:—

'June 22nd, 1617.—Wee are informed that there are certeyne Players, or Comedians, we know not of what Company, that goe about to play some enterlude concerning the late Marquesse d'Ancre,

[1] *MSS. Harl.*, No. 444.

which for many respects wee thinke not fitt to be suffered. Wee doe therefore require you, upon your perill, to take order that the same be not represented or played in any place about this Citty, or elsewhere where you have authoritie. And hereof have you a speciall care.'

The King returned to London on the 15th of September; and the brother of Lord Buckingham was married to the daughter of Sir Edward Coke at Hampton Court in presence of the King, with all solemnity, on the 29th of the same month. We hear nothing of any theatrical performances or masques on the occasion, and the deficiency might arise from the want of time for preparation.[1]

In a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton, A. D. 1618. dated January 1st, 1617-18, we read the following paragraph respecting the entertainments at Court at that season :—

'The Muscovy Ambassadors shall be feasted at Court to-morrow, and on Twelfth-night is the Prince's Mask. There was a Mask of nine Ladies in hand at their own cost, whereof the principal was the Lady Hay, as Queen of the Amazons, accompanied by her sister, the Lady Dorothy, Sir Robert and Sir Henry Rich's ladies, Mistress Isabella Rich, Mistress West, the Lord de la War's daughter,

---

[1] From the following passage in Dugdale's *Origin. Jurid.*, p. 285, it appears that in the autumn, soon after his return, the King was entertained with Barriers at the expense of the Society of Gray's Inn :—

'In 14 Jac. (17th October), it was ordered that every Reader, ancient Barrister, and other gentleman that should be in town between that time and the end of Hilary Term then next following, or who then had any chamber in the House, either of the House or by lease or otherwise, should pay towards the Barriers, intended to be presented to his Majesty, after these rates and proportions, viz., every Reader or Ancient of the Bench, 40*s.*; every Ancient under the Bench, 30*s.*; every Barrester, 20*s.*; and every other Gentleman, 13*s.* 4*d.*'

Mistress Barbary Sidney, Sir Humphrey May's lady, and the Lady Cave, daughter of Sir Herbert Croftes. They had taken great pains in continual practising, and were almost perfect, and all their implements provided: but whatsoever the cause was, neither the King nor the Queen did like or allow of it, and so all is dashed.'

Notwithstanding this disappointment, Ben Jonson's *Vision of Delight*, which Chamberlain calls 'The Prince's Mask', was performed on Twelfth-night with great applause, and repeated on Shrove Tuesday, according to Chamberlain, 'with alterations and additions, but little bettered.' The printed copy (which came from the press in 1640, and not in 1641, as Gifford states) bears no marks of these alterations and additions: it would not have been easy to 'better' this beautiful production by any changes. The Prince, as we are also told by Chamberlain, was a chief actor in it, and it was his 'first exercise in that kind'. By the *Lansdowne MS.* before quoted (to which we have mislaid the particular reference), it is seen that 750*l.* were issued to a person of the name of Leach for preparations for *The Vision of Delight.*

The disturbances at Shrovetide 1616-17 were not forgotten at the return of that season in February 1617-18; and the Privy Council appears to have been thrown into considerable alarm by information transmitted to it, that the apprentices, and others, were determined to revenge the fate of their last year's companions, who had been punished according to law: they concerted a plan, by 'casting libels into playhouses', to collect a body, and to proceed first to the Fortune, then to the Red Bull, and afterwards to the Cockpit, in order to raze and destroy them. Letters were accordingly written, on the 11th of February 1617-18, to the Magistrates of Middlesex, and to the Lord Mayor, requiring them to be upon their guard, in order to quell any riotous disposition, and to pre-

serve the peace of the metropolis. This communication to the magistrates is subjoined in a note.[1]

The patent to John Daniell in 1615, giving him authority to bring up a company of youths as actors, has already been mentioned: it was followed in April 1618, by what is termed, in the indorsement of the original in the State Paper Office, 'a letter of assistance', on the ground, that the previous patent had been 'oppugned and resisted', but in fact to authorise Daniell to assign his patent to others, if he thought fit, and to give authority to Martin Slatier,[2] John

A. D. 1618.

[1] 'A letter to his Majesty's Lieutenants of the County of Middlesex:—It is well knowne unto you what disorder and tumult was comitted the last Shrove Tuesday, in divers partes about the Cittie, by the Apprentices and other leude and ill affected persons, to the great disturbance of his Majesty's peace, and the hurt of many poore men. And though divers of the offenders were committed to Newgate, and proceeded withall at the Session according to lawe; yet they are so farre from being warned by that example, as they rather take occasion thereby, in regarde that some of their fellowes were in danger and punished the last yeare, to cast seditious lybells into Playhouses, in the name of some London fellowes, apprentices, to summon others in the skirts and confynes to meete at the Fortune; and after that to goe to the Playhouses, the Redd Bull and the Cockpitt, which they have designed to rase and pull downe, besides what further mischiefe may ensue thereupon, to the scandall of Government, and the great contempt of his Majesty's lawes. For prevention whereof wee thinke it very expedient, as wee have addressed our letters to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the Cittie of London, soe to require you, by virtue of his Majesty's Commission of Lieutenancy directed unto you, to take the like order upon Shrove Tuesday next, as you did upon May Day last, by setting good and substanciall watches in such places as shall be meete, and by appointing some of the trayned Bandes to be mustered and trayned that day, in such convenient places in the skirtes and confynes of the Cittie, as may serve for the suppressing of any ryott or tumulte, that may happen by the disorder of such leude people. Whereof we require you to have especiall care, &c.'

[2] Martin Slatier was probably the same person whose name often

Edmonds, Nathaniel Clay, and others, who are termed 'her Majesty's servants', to proceed to different parts of the kingdom, under the designation of '*her Majesty's servants, of her royal Chamber of Bristol*', and to act in any play-houses, school-houses and other convenient places, provided they did not continue in any one place for more than fourteen days, and refrained from playing on the Sabbath during divine service. Chalmers printed this document,[1] but from an imperfect and incorrect copy, and it is subjoined literally in a note.[2] We do not in any subsequent instrument find mention

occurs in Henslowe's *Diary*, as Martin Slater, and Martin Slaughter. He was an author as well as an actor, and the earliest entry regarding him or his productions, bears date in May 1595.

[1] *Apology*, p. 365.

[2] 'April 1618. Copie of a lre in the behalf of John Daniell, to bringe up youthes in qualitie of plaieinge of enterludes.

'After our harty comendations. Whereas it pleased his Ma^tie^ by his Lrs Patents under the Great Seale of England, bearing date the xvij^th^ daie of Julie in the xiii yeare of his Highnes Raine, to grant unto John Daniell, gent. (the Prince his servant) aucthoritie to bring upp a companie of Children and youthes in the quallitie of playing Enterludes and Stage plaies. And wee are informed, that notwithstanding his Ma^ties^ pleasure therein, that there are some who oppugne and resist the said aucthoritie, in contempt of his Ma^ties^ Lrs Patents.

'In consideration whereof, and for the further effecting and performance of his Ma^ties^ pleasure therein, We have thought good to grant unto the said John Daniell these our Lrs of Assistance, thereby requiring you, and in his Ma^ties^ name straightly chardging and commaunding you and every of you, not only quietly to permit and suffer Martin Slatier, John Edmonds and Nathaniell Clay (her Ma^ties^ servants) with their Associatts, the bearers hereof, to play as aforesaid (as her Ma^ties^ servants of her Royall Chamber of Bristoll) in all Playhouses, Townehalls, Schoolehouses and other places convenient for the purpose, in all Cities, Universities, Townes, and Burroughes within his Ma^ties^ Realmes and Dominions, freely and peaceably without any of your letts, trobles or molestations. But as occasion shall be offered (they or any of them

of a company of the same remarkable name, and it probably had a very brief existence.

It merits notice that the Privy Council Register of 1618 contains a letter from Ignatius Jurdain, Mayor of Exeter (dated in the indorsement, June 1618) to 'Sir Thomas Lake, Principal Secretary to his Majesty', complaining that John Daniel and a company of players had come there, and shewing the King's Patent, dated 17th July, 13th James I, had required leave to play. The Mayor had refused, because the Patent was only for Children, whereas in the company there were only 'five youths' and the rest men, some about 30, 40, and 50 years. He had, however, given them four angels, with which they seemed content; but as he heard that they threatened afterwards to write to the Privy Council, he had determined to be beforehand with them. He annexes to his letter a copy of the Patent to John Daniel which was in the usual form.

On the 24th of May, in this year, the King put forth the celebrated Declaration 'concerning lawful sports to be used upon Sundays, after evening prayers ended, and upon holidays.' It stated, that during his late progress through Lancashire, he had found it necessary to 'rebuke some Puritans and precise people', who wished to prohibit 'lawful recreations, and

having to showe his Lrs Patents, and a Letter of Assignment from the said John Daniell) to be lykewise aiding and assisting unto them, they behaving of themselves civilly and orderly, lyke good and honest subjects, and doing nothing therein contrary to the tenour of his Ma^ties^ said Lrs Patents, nor staying to play in any one place above fourteene daies together, and the tymes of Divine Service on the Saboth days only excepted.

'Whereof faile you not at your perilles. Given at the Court at Whitehall, &c. To all Maiors, Sheriffes, Bayliffs, Constables, and other his Ma^ties^ Officers and Liege Subjects, to whome it may belong, or in any wise appertaine.'

honest exercises upon Sundays, and other holidays'; and it proceeds to allow dancing by both sexes, archery, leaping, vaulting, 'or any such harmless recreation': the only portion immediately connected with our subject is the prohibition of what are termed 'unlawful games' on Sundays, such as bull and bear-baitings, interludes and bowling. 'Interludes' is, of course, here used as a generic term for all theatrical representations.

Ben Jonson's *Pleasure reconciled to Virtue*, was the Mask on Twelfth-day 1618-19: it was performed again on Shrove Tuesday, with the addition of the antimask called *For the Honour of Wales*. A Privy Seal, extant in the Chapter House, shows that on the 3rd of December, 400*l.* were issued from the Exchequer to one Edward Leech to enable him to make preparations. A. D. 1619.

Queen Anne died in Dec. 1618, and at Bridgwater House is preserved a list of her Players, who attended the funeral and were allowed four yards each of black cloth on the occasion: their seventeen names are given as follows:—Robt. Lee, Richard Parkins, Christopher Beeston, Robt. Pallant, Thomas Haywood, James Holt, Thomas Swinerton, Martin Salter, Ellis Wroth, John Comber, Thomas Bass, John Blayey, William Robinson, John Edmonds, Thomas Drew, Gregory Sanderson, and John Garret.

The Corporation of London, having succeeded in 1615 and 1616 in preventing the erection of a new theatre in Blackfriars by Rosseter, endeavoured, in 1618-19, to suppress the old one, which had been in existence since about the year 1574. On the 21st of January 1618-19, the Lord Mayor, Harvey, issued an order reciting the representations made by the inhabitants of the precinct in 1596, the directions of the Privy Council in 1600 (limiting the number of theatres in and near London to only two), and proceeding to state, that notwithstanding the

steps thus taken, 'the owner' of the Blackfriars theatre, 'under the name of a private house, hath converted the same into a public playhouse, into which there is daily so great a resort of people, and so great multitudes of coaches, whereof many are hackney coaches bringing people of all sorts, that sometimes all the streets cannot contain them.' The Lord Mayor, therefore, of his own authority, took upon himself to command, 'that the said playhouse be *suppressed*, and that the players shall from henceforth forbear and desist from playing in that house, in respect of the manifold abuses and disorders complained of.'

The theatre had been originally built in the liberty of the Blackfriars, because it was out of the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor; and that this new exercise of civic authority was not attended with any effect, is obvious, not merely from the fact that more than ten years afterwards the inhabitants of Blackfriars found it necessary to petition the Bishop of London on the subject, but from the discovery, in the State Paper Office, of a Patent under the Great Seal, dated 27th of March 1619-20, in which the King licenses his 'well-beloved servants to act, not only at the Globe on the Bankside, but at *their private house situated in the precincts of Blackfriars*.' It would almost seem as if this new patent (a revival of that granted to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, on the 19th of May 1603) had been conceded for the express purpose of deciding the right of the King's players to act at the Blackfriars theatre.[1] It follows very much the

A. D. 1619-20.

[1] At Bridgwater House is a MS., shewing that in July 1608 the City made an attempt to establish its jurisdiction within the precinct of Blackfriars, and obtained Sir Henry Montague's opinion in their favour, which was sent to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, who thus indorsed it '23 Julij 1608. Sir Henry Montague for the Blackfriars.' This opinion refers to the certificate of 'the two Lord Chief Justices Wray and Dyer,' a copy of which is

terms of the licence of the same kind granted to the Prince's players at the Fortune in 1612-13, omitting, however, the clause reserving the authority of the Master of the Revels, and inserting a precautionary provision against performing when the deaths by the plague exceeded forty in the week. The names of the principal members of the company at this date were these:[1]—John Hemmings, Richard Burbadge,[2] Henry

appended dated 1579, in favour of the claim of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; but this is accompanied by a third paper headed 'Prooffs by Record that the Cytie of London hath not any jurisdiction within the Blacke ffryers, but that it is a place exempted from it.' These 'proofs' extended from 3 Edw. I to 14 Edw. II, but no later. The result, however, shews that the City did not establish its authority.

[1] As Joseph Taylor, who was afterwards associated with Hemming, as leader of the King's company, is not mentioned in the instrument, we may infer that, at this date, he still continued at the head of the players of Prince Charles.

[2] This is the latest date at which the famous name of Richard Burbadge can appear in any list, as he died on the 13th Mar. 1618-19, and was buried at Shoreditch.

We are without further information on the subject than is contained in the following paragraph, but we should not be surprised if the character of Barnavelt had been the last sustained by Burbage: that the incidents had been brought upon the London stage is certain, from the following remarkable extract of a private letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, dated August 1619, preserved among the State Papers of the reign of James I.

'Our players have found the means to goe through with the play of *Barnavelt*, and it hath had many spectators, and receaved applause, yet some say that (according to the proverb) the Divell is not soe bad as he is painted, and that Barnavelt should persuade Ledenberg to make away with himself (when he comes to see him after he was prisoner), to prevent the discoverie of the plott; and to tell him that when they were both dead (as though he meant to do the like), they might sift it out of their ashes, was thought to be a point strayned. When Barnavelt understood of Ledenberg's death, he comforted himself, which before he refused to do; but when he perceaveth himself to be arrested, then he hath no remedie, but with all speede biddeth his wife send to the Fr Ambr, wch

Condell, John Lowen, Nicholas Tooley, John Underwood, Nathan[iel] Field, Robert Benfield, Robert Gough, William Ecclestone, Richard Robinson, and John Shancks:

The existence of any such patent was hitherto unknown, and it is added verbatim in a note.[1]

It is not known who was employed to write the Mask for 1619-20, when Ben Jonson was in Scotland; but, according to an extract from a letter by Drummond of Hawthornden

she did, and he spake for him,' etc. Our attention has been directed to the preceding by a note signed G. H. Kingsley in *Notes and Queries* of 29 Dec. 1860. We are without any further information upon the subject, and the death of Burbage may possibly have put a stop to the performance of the play of *Barnavelt*.

[1] 'JAMES R.—James, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc. To all Justices, Maiors, Sheriffs, Constables, Headborowes, and other our officers and loving subjects, greeting. Know ye that Wee, of our speciall grace, certain knowledge and meere motion, have lycensed and authorized, and by theis presents do lycence and authorize, theis our welbeloved servants, John Hemings, Richard Burbadge, Henry Condell, John Lowen, Nicholas Tooley, John Underwood, Nathan Feild, Robert Benfield, Robert Gough, William Ecclestone, Richard Robinson, and John Shancks, and the rest of the Associates freely to use and exercise the art and facultie of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage-playes, and such other like, as they have already studied or shall hereafter use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when wee shall think good to see them, during our pleasure. And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage-plaies and such like, to show and exercise publiquely or otherwise to their best comoditie, when the infection of the plague shall not weekely exceed the nomber of fortie by the certificate of the Lord Mayor of London for the time being, as well within theis two their now usuall Houses called the Globe within our Countie of Surrey, and their private House *scituate in the precincts of the Blackfriers within our Citty of London*, as also within any Towne Halls, or Moute-halls, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedom of any other

(published by Gifford, *Ben Jonson's Works*, vii, 352), it did not give satisfaction :—'I have heard from Court, that the late Mask was not so approved of by the King, as in former times, and that your absence was regretted. Such applause hath true worth, even of those who are otherwise not for it.' By a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton, it also appears, that 'plays' were acted this year at Court, and although no record of the fact may remain, there is little doubt that the King's servants, and perhaps other performers, were called upon to lend their aid in varying the royal amusements. Chamberlain says :—'The King came to town the day before Christmas eve, and there hath little passed in Court besides plays and revels.' He does not make any particular mention of the Mask, nor of its reception.

For the sake of convenience, and juxtaposition, it may be mentioned here, although a little out of its place, that Ben Jonson wrote the Mask for Christmas 1620-21, and called it *News from the New World in the Moon*. It was, as usual, presented twice, at Twelfth-tide and Shrovetide. On the 8th

Cittie, Universitie, Towne, or Burrough whatsoever within our said Realmes and Domynions. Willing and commaunding you and every of you, and all our loving subjects, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permit and suffer them herein without any your letts, hinderances, or molestations during our said pleasure, but also to be ayding and assisting to them, if any wrong be to them offred, and to allow them such former curtesies as hath byn given to men of their place and qualitie. And also what further favour you shall shew to theis our Servants and the rest of their Associates for our sake, we shall take kindly at your hands. In witness wherof, etc.

'PEMBROKE.

'By order from the Lord Chamberlin of yr Maties Houshold,

'Ext LEVYNUS MUNCK.'

It is indorsed—'Expedit apud Westmr vicessimo septimo die Martij, Anno D. Regis Jacobi decimo septimo.'

of January, the King and suite were present at a Mask at Lord Doncaster's.[1]

It is necessary now to revert briefly to the office of the Revels. Sir George Buc became Master of the Revels in 1610; and in 1612, Sir John Ashley obtained a grant of the reversion of the office, on the death of Sir George Buc: in September 1621, Ben Jonson also obtained a grant of the reversion, on the several demises of Sir George Buc and Sir John Ashley. The Privy Seal for this purpose, in a very mutilated condition and much injured by damp, was preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster; and, unlike most other instruments of the same kind, as if in compliment to the learning of the grantee, it is in Latin.[2]

In the spring of 1622 Sir George Buc appears to have been so ill and infirm as to be unable to discharge the duties of his situation; and on the 2nd of May of that year a patent was made out, appointing Sir John Ashley Master of the Revels. As this instrument gives more full and circumstantial information regarding the duties and arbitrary powers of the Master of the Revels, than is to be collected from any other source, it is printed at length below.[3]

[1] It may be worth notice that, at this date, the wages of Thomas Mell, 'one of the Musicians for the flutes' (who succeeded Peter Edney, who had been a flute-player to Queen Elizabeth), were 44*l.* per annum; with an allowance of 16*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* yearly for 'apparel and liveries'. This fact appears from a Privy Seal dated 4th of April 1620.

[2] On the 29th of July 1622, a patent was granted under the Great Seal to William Payneter, Esq., for the reversion of the Mastership of the Revels, after the deaths of Sir John Ashley and Benjamin Jonson, gent. To this instrument, in the State Paper Office, is appended the opinion of the then Attorney-General, Thomas Coventry, that it was 'agreeable in substance with the former patents'. That patent was in English.

[3] The original of the following was in the Chapter-house, Westminster: 'James, by the grace of God, etc. To all and singular Justices, Maiors,

On the 22nd May 1622, Sir George Buc was formally superseded in a Privy Seal, (also extant in the Chapter-house) directed to the Exchequer, referring to orders that had been

Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other our officers, ministers, true liege men, and subjects, and to every of them, greeting. Wee lett you witt that wee have authorised, licenced, and commaunded, and by these presents do authorise, licence, and commaund, our welbeloved servant Sr John Ashley, Knight, Master of our Revells, as well to take and retaine for us and in our name, at all times from hencefoorth, and in all places within this our realme of England, as well within franchises and liberties as without, at competent wages, as well all such and as many Painters, Embroderers, Taylors, Cappers, Haberdashers, Joyners, Carters, Glasiers, Armorers, Baskett-makers, Skinners, Sadlers, Waggon-makers, Plasterers, Feather-makers, as all propertie-makers and cunning artificers, and labourers whatsoever, as our said servant, or his Assigne, bearer hereof, shall thinke necessary and requisite, for the speedy making and finishing of any exploit, workmanship, or peece of service that shall at any time hereafter belong to our said office of the Revells; as also to take, at price reasonable, in all places within our said realme of England, as well within franchises and liberties as without, any kind or kinds of stuffe, ware or merchandize, wood or coale or other fewell, timber, wainscott, boards, lath, nailes, brick, tyle, leads, iron, wyer, and all other necessaries for our said works of the said office of our Revells, as he the said Sir John Ashley, or his Assignes, shall thinke behoofull and expedient, from time to time for our said service in the said office of the Revells, together with all cariages for the same, both by land and water, as the case shall require. And furthermore, we have, by these presents, authorised and commaunded the said Sir John Ashley, that in case any person or persons, whatsoever they be, will obstinately disobey, and from henceforth refuse to accomplish and obey our commaundement and pleasure in that behalf, or withdrawe themselves from any of our said works upon warning to them or any of them given by the said Sir John Ashley, or by his sufficient deputie in that behalf to be named or appointed for their diligent attendance and workmanship upon the said works or devises, as to their natural dutie and allegeance appertaineth, that then it shalbe lawfull unto the said Sir John Ashley, or his deputie for the time being, to attache the partie or parties so offending, and him or them to commit to ward, there to remaine without bayle or mainprise,

given to him for the receipt of 601*l.*, due to the officers of the Revels, upon accounts for two years, and of 100*l.* in advance for the provision of necessaries for the Court amusements,

until the said Sir John Ashley shall thinke the time of his or their imprisonment to be punishment sufficient for his or their said offences in that behalf; and that done to enlarge him or them, soe being imprisoned, at their full libertie, without any losse, penaltie, forfaiture, or other damage in that behalf to be sustained or borne by the said Sir John Ashley or his deputie. And also if any person or persons, being taken into our said works of the said office of our Revells, being arrested, coming or going to or from our said works of our said office of our Revells, at the suite of any person or persons, then the said Sir John Ashley, by virtue and authority hereof, to enlarge him or them as by our special protection during the time of said works. And also if any person or persons, being retained in our said works of our said office of Revells, have taken any manner of taskeworke, being bound to finish the same by a certaine day, shall not runne into any manner of forfeiture or penaltie for breaking of his day; soe that he or they, immediately after the finishing of our said works, endeavor him or themselves to finish the said taskeworke. And further also wee have and doe by these presents authorize and commaund our said servant Sir John Ashley, Master of our Revells, by himself or his sufficient deputie or deputies, to warne, commaund, and appoint in all places within this our Realme of England, as well within franchises and liberties as without, all and every player and players, with the play-makers, either belonging to any nobleman, or otherwise, bearing the name or names of, using the facultie of play-makers or players of Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, or what other showes soever, from time to time and at all times to appeare before him with all such plaies, tragedies, comedies, or showes as they shall have in readines or meane to sett foorth, and them to present and recite before our said servant or his sufficient deputie; whome we ordaine, appoint, and authorize by these presents of all such showes, plaies, players, and play-makers, together with their playing places, to order and reforme, authorise and put downe, as shalbe thought meete or unmeete unto himself or his said deputie in that behalf. And we have likewise by these presents authorised and commaunded the said Sir John Ashley, that if any of them, whatsoever they be, will obstinately refuse, upon warning unto them given by the said Sir John Ashley or his sufficient deputie, to accomplish and obey

making together 70*l.* Of this amount Sir George Buc had obtained 40*l.*, and the Privy Seal directed that the remaining 30*l.* should be paid to Sir John Ashley, as Sir George Buc, 'by reason of sickness and indisposition of body, wherewith it had pleased God to visit him, was become disabled, and insufficient to undergo and perform' the duties of Master of the Revels, 'which office had been conferred upon Sir John Ashley, Knight.' Thus, from the 2nd May 1622, Sir John Ashley was in full possession of the office of Master of the Revels, with powers which never appear to have been given to, nor exercised by his predecessors.

Some time before Sir George Buc was thus extruded from his office, viz., in the autumn of 1620, a project was on foot for constructing an Amphitheatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and by the documents extant upon the subject it appears,

our commaundement in this behalf, then it shalbe lawfull to and for the said Sir John Ashley, or his sufficient deputie, to attach the partie or parties so offending, and him or them to commit to ward, there to remaine without baile or mainprise, untill such time as the said Sir John Ashley or his sufficient deputie shall thinke the time of his or their imprisonment to be punishment sufficient for his or their said offences in that behalf; and that done to enlarge him or them so being imprisoned at their plaine libertie, without any losse, penaltie, forfeiture, or other danger in this behalf to be sustained or borne by the said Sir John Ashley or his deputy, any act, statute, ordinance, or provision heretofore had or made, to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. Wherefore wee will and commaund you and every of you, that unto the said Sir John Ashley, or his sufficient deputie, bearer hereof, in the due execution of this our authority and commaund, yee be ayding, supporting, and assisting from time to time as the case shall require, as you and every of you tender our pleasure, and will answer the contrary at your uttermost perills. In witness, etc. Given under our signet at our Pallace of Westminster, the 2nd day of May in the 20th yeare of our rayne, etc.

'Ex. R. KIRKHAM.'

that the Prince's players[1] had at one time (the precise date is not given) presented a petition to King James, in order to be allowed to erect a playhouse there: a negative was then put

[1] In 1621, William Rowley, the author of several plays, was one of the Prince's actors, and in that year published some lines on the death of a fellow actor, who seems to have obtained celebrity, named Hugh Atwell. They have never been reprinted nor mentioned, and are here given from a copy, among a number of valuable broadsides on temporary subjects, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

'For a Funerall Elegie on the Death of Hugh Atwell, Servant to Prince Charles, this fellow-feeling Farewell: who died the 25th of Sept. 1621.

'So, now Hee's downe, the other side may shout:
But did he not play faire? held he not out
With courage beyond his bone? full sixe yeares
To wrastle and tugge with Death! the strong'st feares
To meet at such a match. They that have seene
How doubtfull Victorie hath stood betweene,
Might wonder at it. Sometimes cunningly
Death gets advantage: by his cheeke and eye
We thought that ours had beene the weaker part,
And straight agen the little mans great heart
Would rouse fresh strength and shake him off awhile:
Death would retire, but never reconcile.
They too't agen, agen; they pull, they tugge,
At last Death gets within, and with a hugge
The faint soule crushes. This thou maist boast, Death,
Th' hast throwne him faire, but he was out of breath.
Refresh thee then (sweet Hugh); on the ground rest:
The worst is past, and now thou hast the best.
Rise with fresh breath, and be assur'd before,
That death shall never wrastle with thee more.
Oh, hadst thou Death (as warres and battels may
Present thee so) a field of noble clay
To entertaine into thy rhewmie cell,
And thou wouldst have it be presented well,
Speake thy oration by this man's toung:
'Mongst living Princes it hath sweetly sung,

upon the undertaking, in consequence of the certificate of eleven justices that it would be objectionable. Nevertheless, it appears that in 1620 the King had incautiously granted permission to 'his servants John Cotton, John Williams and Thomas Dixon,' (names that do not elsewhere occur) to build an Amphitheatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields: whether attention was called to the subject by remonstrances from other parties is not stated, but on the 29th September 1620, James wrote to his Privy Council, requiring them to cancel the licence given, and to cause the Solicitor-General to draw up another according to certain inclosed instructions. The original, from which the following was copied, is in the State Paper Office.

'To our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousins and Councellors, William Earle of Pembroke, Chamberlaine of our Household, and Thomas Earle of Arundell; to our trusty and right welbeloved Councellor John Lo. Digby, Vice-chamberlen of our Howsehould; and to our right trusty and welbeloved Councellors, Sir Robert

---

(While they have sung his praise) but if thy Court
Be silence-tyde and there dwells no report,
Lend it to Life to store another flesh:
We misse it here; wee'l entertain 't afresh.

'EPITAPH.

'Here lyes the man (and let no lyars tell)
His heart a Saints, his toung a silver bell:
Friend to his friend he stood: by Death he fell:
He chang'd his *Hugh*, yet he remains At-well.

'WILL. ROWLEY.'

Hugh Atwell, or Attawel, it will be recollected, was one of 'the Children of her Majesty's Revels' in 1609, and played in Ben Jonson's *Epicœne* in that year. George Attewel was a member of Henslowe's company, and, perhaps, the father of Hugh Attawell, Attewell, or Atwell. A receipt by Francis Henslowe of 9*l.*, to enable him to purchase a share of the company with which he was playing, is witnessed by William Smyght, George Attewell, and Robart Nycowlles, Players.

Naunton, Knight, one of our Principall Secretaries of State, Sir George Calvert, Knight, one other of our Principall Secretaries of State, and Sir Fulke Grivill, Knight, Chancellor and Under-treasurer of our Exchequer, or to any fowre of them.

'James R.—Right trusty and right welbeloved Cousins and Councellors, and right trusty and welbeloved Councellors, wee greete you well. Whereas at the humble suite of our servants John Cotton, John Williams and Thomas Dixon, and in recompence of their services, wee have been pleased to licence them to buyld an Amphitheater, which hath passed our Signett and is stayed at our Privy Seale; and finding therein conteyned some such wordes and clauses, as may, in some constructions, seem to give them greater liberty, both in the point of buylding and using of exercises, then is any way to be permitted, or was ever by us intended, Wee have thought fitt to commaund and give authority unto you, or any fower of you, to cause that already passed to be cancelled, and to give order unto our Sollicitor Generall for the drawing up of a new warrant for our signature to the same parties, according to such directions and reservations as herewith wee send you. Wherein we are more particular, both in the affirmative and the negative, to the end that, as on the one side we would have nothing pass us to remaine upon record, which either for the forme might not become us, or for the substance might cross our many Proclamations (pursued with good successe) for buyldings, or, on the other side, might give them cause to importune us after they had been at charges, to which end we wishe that you call them before you, and lett them know our pleasure and resolution therein. Given under our Signett at our Honor of Hampton Court, the 29th of September in the eighteenth yeare of our Raigne of greate Brittaigne, France and Ireland.'

It will be found afterwards, from certain letters which passed upon this subject early in the reign of the successor of King James, that no other patent was granted to the parties, thus summarily deprived of what had been formally conceded.

The Mask of the *Metamorphosed Gipsies*, by Ben Jonson,

was played while King James was on progress, twice in the month of August, at Burleigh on the Hill and at Belvoir, and a third time at Windsor, in September. The folio of 1640 states incorrectly, that all three representations of this highly approved production were in the month of August. Gifford asserts, that this is the only MS. piece of Jonson's in existence, and he had the use of a copy belonging to the late Mr. Heber: we have already shown that there are two other Masks by the same author, in his own handwriting, among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum. On the 26th August 1621, James was at Woodstock, where he saw Barten Haliday's *Marriage of the Arts:* it is not to be wondered that the King found the performance wearisome, and that 'he offered three times to leave the hall', when it was played there by the Students of Christchurch.

On the Sunday night preceding the 15th of December 1621, a catastrophe similar to that which had happened to the Globe on the Bankside, visited the Fortune theatre in Cripplegate: it was burnt to the ground in two hours, and the dresses and plays were also consumed. Such particulars as are known are given in our separate account of that theatre. It was square and of wood, but it was rebuilt round and of brick; and it was not completed until 1623. At the date of this misfortune the Elector Palatine's players, who had possession of it, were called the Palsgrave's servants, and they consisted of the following persons:—'Richard Gunnell, Francis Grace, Charles Massey, Richard Price or Pryore, Richard Fowler, Andrew Cane, Curtis Greville,' and some others. This information is derived from the Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, who, in August 1623, was formally appointed by Sir John Ashley Deputy Master of the Revels.[1]

[1] He seems to have acted in that capacity as early as May 1622, and his Office-book extends back to that date; so that Sir John Ashley never executed the duties of Master of the Revels in person.

From that valuable record many of the particulars of the Annals of the Stage, hereafter to be inserted, will be obtained: it was long in the hands of Malone, who made ample, but not full use of the materials.

Some of the actors performed at more than one theatre, as Cane and Grevill, mentioned in the preceding list of players at the Fortune, are also stated by Sir H. Herbert to have been at the same date players at the Phœnix in Drury Lane,[1] together with 'Christopher Beeston, Joseph More, Eliart Swanston, William Shurlock, and Anthony Turner.'

It seems probable that these were younger performers, and that they were members of the company originally called the Children of the Queen's Revels. When Eliart Swanston had attained the proper age, he (as Malone observes)[2] joined the King's servants at the Globe and Blackfriars, and is sometimes mentioned as one of the leaders of the company.

A. D. 1622.

The 'players of the Revels', as they are called by Sir H. Herbert (after they had, it seems, lost the name of the Children of the Revels), acted in 1622, among other places, at the Red Bull, and consisted of the following performers:—Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Worth, Thomas Basse, John Blaney, John Cumber, and William Robins.[3] Sir

[1] 'Soon after his (Shakespeare's) death, four of the principal companies then subsisting made a union, and were afterwards called "the United Companies", but I know not precisely in what this union consisted. I suspect it arose from a penury of actors, and that the managers contracted to permit the performers in each house occasionally to assist their brethren in the other theatres in the representation of plays.' Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 224. This conjecture is in some degree supported by the fact mentioned above, but we do not know any other distinct instance of the kind.

[2] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 60.

[3] These players, under the name of 'the late comedians of Queen Anne,

Henry Herbert only professes to give the names of 'the chiefe of them'. The part of the leaf containing the names of the King's servants, and of those who performed at the Curtain, who must have been the Prince's servants, had mouldered away, so that Malone was not able to decypher them. The deficiency may, however, as far as relates to the King's servants, be supplied from the list of characters prefixed to Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, first printed in 1623, to which the names of the performers are attached, viz.:—J. Lowin, J. Taylor, R. Robinson, R. Benfield, J. Underwood, N. Tooley, J. Rice, T. Pollard, R. Sharpe, J. Thomson, and R. Pallant.

The names of R. Burbadge, H. Condell, and W. Ostler are also found opposite the parts which were played in 1623 by Taylor, Robinson, and Benfield, as having acted them when the play was originally produced ;[1] but, in 1623, Burbadge, Condell, and

deceased', on the 8th of July 1622, obtained a warrant for a Privy Seal, licensing them 'to bring up children in the quality and exercise of playing comedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage plays, and such like, to be called by the name of the Children of the Revels'. This fact appears from a MS., No. 515, in the Inner Temple Library, supposed to be a copy of part of a *Lord Chamberlain of the Household's Book*—in whose time is not stated.

[1] Probably about the year 1616, but certainly before March 1619-20, as Richard Burbadge died in that month, though mentioned in the patent of March 27, 1619-20. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1825, the late Mr. Haslewood printed an *Elegy on the death of R. Burbadge*, long preserved in MS.: and he subsequently met with another copy of the same production, with the important addition of some lines naming four of the parts in which Burbadge especially excelled, viz., Hamlet, Hieronimo, Lear, and probably Othello. According to the anonymous author of it, Burbadge's disorder, which killed him, first attacked his speech, and he thus adverts to the loss the stage sustained by his decease:—

> 'Hee's gone, and with him what a world are dead,
> Which he reviv'd, to be revived soe
> No more—young Hamlett, old Hieronymoe,

Ostler, the original actors, were either dead or had left the stage: John Hemmings, who had been a leader of the company, had also then ceased to perform. Malone states that Hemmings

> King Lear, the creuel Moore, and more beside
> That lived in him have now for ever dyde.
> Oft have I seene him leape into a grave,
> Suiting the person which he seem'd to have
> Of a sadd lover, with soe true an eye,
> That there I would have sworne hee meant to dye.
> Oft have I seene him play this parte in jeast
> So lively, that spectators, and the rest
> Of his sad crew, whilst he but seem'd to bleed,
> Amazed thought even then hee dyed indeed.
> O, let not me be checkt, and I shall sweare
> Even yet it is a false report I heare;
> And thinke that he who did soe truly faine
> Is still but dead in jeast, to live againe:
> But now this part he acts, not playes, 'tis knowne;
> Others he plaide but acted hath his owne.
> England's great Roscius! for what Roscius
> Was unto Rome, than Burbadge was to us?
> How did his speech become him, and his pace
> Suite with his speech, and every action grace!'

The author thus apostrophises the fellow actors of Burbadge, alluding to the season when he died:—

> 'And you his sad companyons, to whome Lent
> Becomes more lenten by this accident,
> Henceforth your waving flagg no more hang out,
> Play now no more at all: when rounde aboute
> Wee looke, and miss the Atlas of your spheare,
> What comfort have wee, think you, to be there,
> And how can you delight in playing, when
> Such mourning soe affecteth other men?'

It consists in the whole of eighty-six lines, and ends thus:—

> 'And thou, deare earth, that must enshrine that dust
> By heaven now committed to thy trust,
> Keepe it as pretious as the richest mine,
> That lyes intomb'd in the rich wombe of thine,

'continued chief director of the King's company of comedians to the time of his death.'[1] Of the members of the company called the Prince's servants, performing at the Curtain, we have no precise information. These five companies, the King's servants, the Prince's servants, the Palsgrave servants, the Children of the Queen's Revels (afterwards called the Queen of Bohemia's servants), and the players of the Revels, seem to have been the principal bodies of actors in London, when Sir H. Herbert first came into office as deputy to Sir John Ashley. Sir H. Herbert mentions also, under date of September 1623, 'a company of strangers' performing at the Red Bull, who did not (he adds) form one of 'the four com-

> That after times may know that much lov'd mould
> Fro others dust, and cherrish it as gold:
> On it be laide some soft, but lasting stone,
> With this short epitaph endorst theron,
> That every one may reade, and reading weepe,
> '*Tis England's Roscius, Burbadg, that I keepe.*'

Middleton, the dramatist (according to a MS. in the possession of the late Mr. Heber), wrote an epigram on the death of Burbadge, which shows that he was a proficient in painting as well as playing; and we feel confident that some of the portraits at Dulwich, which had belonged to Alleyn, were executed by Burbadge: a female head was very much in the style of the portrait of Shakespeare formerly in the possession of Mr. Nicholl of Pall Mall, but the eyes have been repainted and spoiled. Middleton's lines on the death of Burbadge were these:—

'On the Death of that great Mr. in his art and quality (*painting* and playing), R. Burbage—

> 'Astronomers and Stargazers this year
> Write but of foure Eclipses—five appeare:
> Death interposing Burbage, and their staying
> Hath made a visible Eclipse of playing.'
>
> THO. MIDDLETON.

[1] On the 10th of October 1630. Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 190. He was buried on the 12th, having made his will on the 9th of October.

panies.' These four companies are elsewhere called 'the united companies'; but Herbert has not pointed out which of the *five* companies, above enumerated, was not included in the union.

Thus, notwithstanding the patronage given to theatrical performances by the King and Court, in the twenty years between the death of Elizabeth and the entrance of Sir H. Herbert into office, both the number of theatres, and the number of performers had undergone a considerable reduction —a circumstance for which it will not be very easy to account, unless we take into consideration the growth of puritanical opinions, which might materially diminish the visitors to the playhouses, and, consequently, render the occupation of an actor much less profitable. Regarding the want of public encouragement to theatrical performances, at this date, a passage in point may be quoted from a tract published at the very commencement of the year 1623,[1] where the author is speaking of plays and players. 'I should here (he says) unlock the casket of my knowledge (having well nigh forgot), and lay open some rarities concerning players; but, because the commonwealth affords them not their due desert, and for they are men of some *parts*, and live not like lazy drones, but are still in *action*, I am content silently to refer them to three sublunary felicities, which are these,—a fair day, a good play, and a gallant audience; and so let them shift for their lives.'

Besides his dramatic performers, Prince Charles retained a company of musicians in his pay, and one of them, Thomas Lupo, was allowed a salary of 40*l.* a-year. Having 'by casual means fallen into decay', he presented a petition to his royal master to obtain an advance of 30*l.* 'to satisfy his creditors':

[1] *Vox Graculi*, a pretended prognostication, published at the beginning of 1623, p. 48. It was probably by Dekker.

the prayer was complied with,[1] and, thus encouraged, on 17th of May 1622, he obtained a farther advance of 20*l.*

The Mask on Twelfth-night 1621-2, was, as usual, by Ben Jonson: it was called *The Mask of Augurs*, and was only once represented until the 6th of May 1622, when it was repeated.

That Sir George Buc kept an account of plays licensed by him, and of such as were represented at Court, is evident from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, where it is quoted and referred to: in all probability, Edmund Tylney had set him the example in this respect, and the loss of these documents must be deeply deplored:[2] had they been preserved,

[1] See *Harleian MSS.* No. 781, consisting of petitions to the Prince of Wales.

[2] The entries in the Stationers' Books of plays for publication can only form a very imperfect guide as to the number licensed by the Master of the Revels, inasmuch as many may have been, and were, acted which were not printed, and some perhaps were printed to which the sanction of the Master of the Revels had not been previously required. The following list of plays, licensed by Sir Geo. Buc, was made out by Chalmers from the Stationers' Company's registers; and though necessarily very incomplete, it may be worth subjoining, as it conveys some information on the point. If Chalmers be correct, and we think he was, Sir George Buc had acted as deputy to Tylney some years before the death of the latter. Vide *Supp. Apol.*, p. 200.

1606.

6 May. *The Fleire*, provided authority be got.
21 Nov. By assignment, a comedie called *The Fleire.*

1607.

10 April. *The Tragicall Life and Death of Claudius Tiberius Nero.*
20 April. *The Whore of Babylon.*
22 April. *The Faire Mayde of the Exchange.*
9 May. *The Phœnix.*
15 May. A comedy called *Mychaelmas Terme.*
20 May. *The Woman Hater*, as it hath been lately acted by the Children of Powles.
3 June. The Tragedy of *Busye Damboise*, made by George Chapman.

they would have thrown the strongest and the clearest light on the history of our stage; and, among other matters, would probably have fixed the dates and order of Shakespeare's

29 June. *The Travelles of the Three English Brothers*, as it was played at the Curten.
31 July. A Tragedye, *The Miserye of Enforced Marriage.*
6 Aug. The Comedye of *The Puritan Widow.*
Northward Ho.
6 Aug. A Comedy called *What you Will.*
7 Oct. Twoo plaies:—*The Revengers Tragedie, a Trick to catch the Old one.*
12 Oct. A playe, called *The Family of Love*, as it hath beene lately acted by the Children of his Majesty's Revels.
16 Oct. The Tragedie of *Alexander the Sixt*, as it was played before his Majesty.
22 Oct. A plai, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.*
26 Nov. Mr. Willm Shakespeare his *Historie of Kinge Leare*, as it was played before the King's Majestie at Whitehall, upon St. Stephen's night at Xmas last, by his Majesty's servants, playing usually at the Globe on the Bankside.

1607-8.

22 Mar. *The Fyve Wittie Gallants*, as it hath been acted by the children of the Chapell.
28 Mar. A most witty and merry conceited comedy called *Who would have thought it, or Lawtryks.*
12 April. A. B. *Humour out of Breathe.*
21 April. The characters of twoo Royal Maskes, invented by Ben Jonson.
29 April. The 2d pte of *The Convicted Courtesan, or Honest Whore.*
20 May. The Booke of *Pericles, Prynce of Tyre.*
Anthony and Cleopatra.
3 June. A Romane Tragedie called *The Rape of Lucrece.*
5 June. *The Conspiracy and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byronn.* Written by George Chapman.
6 Oct. A playe of *The Dumbe Knight.*

1619.

10 July. The Temple Maske. Ann. 1618.

1621.

6 Oct. The Tragedie of *Othello.*

plays: the sums paid for licensing them, before they were performed, would have decided the point without doubt or controversy.[1] The poignancy of regret is not diminished by

Here we have a hiatus from the 6th of October 1608, to July 1619, during which interval we find nothing of the plays licensed. With reference to Chapman's *Conspiracy* and *Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron*, although printed in 1608, at least one part of the performance was written in 1602; and in Henslowe's *Diary*, there are entries of materials bought for making dresses for the hero: 5*l.* were spent upon a suit of black satin, most likely for the *Tragedy*, which may have been brought out before the *Conspiracy*. It has been hitherto supposed, that the plays were written about the date when they were printed.

[1] The utility of Sir H. Herbert's office-book in this respect may be illustrated with reference to the works of Beaumont and Fletcher: on this authority Malone was able decisively to establish, that Beaumont had no share in the production of the following pieces, some of which are attributed, in the folio of their works in 1647, to their joint authorship. The dates are ascertained by the same document.

1618. *The Loyal Subject.*
1621. *The Island Princess.*
The Wild Goose Chase.
The Pilgrim.
1622. *The Beggar's Bush.*
14 May. *The Prophetess.*
22 June. *The Sea Voyage.*
24 Oct. *The Spanish Curate.*

1623.

29 Aug. *The Maid of the Mill* (assisted by Rowley).
17 Oct. *The Devil of Dowgate* (this piece is lost).
6 Dec. *The Wandering Lovers* (also lost).

1624.

27 May. *A Wife for a Month.*
19 Oct. *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife.*

1625-6.

22 Jan. *Fair Maid of the Inn.*
3 Feb. *The Noble Gentleman.*

Beaumont died in March 1615-16; and if Fletcher died in 1625, as is commonly believed, his last two plays were not brought out until after

the full, though scattered, and sometimes incoherent nature of the information in the MS. of Sir H. Herbert, which only commences in the year 1622: it shows what Tylney's and Buc's registers might have furnished, had they been preserved. Sir John Ashley, as has been stated, came into office in May 1622, and Sir H. Herbert, his deputy, has left us the following account of

'Revells and Playes, performed and acted at Christmas in the Court at Whitehall, 1622-3.

'Upon St. Steeven's daye at night *The Spanish Curate* was acted by the King's players.

'Upon St. John's daye at night was acted *The Beggars Bush* by the King's players.

'Upon Childemas daye no playe.

'Upon the Sonday following *The Pilgrim* was acted by the King's players.

'Upon New-yeare's day at night *The Alchemist* was acted by the King's players.

'Upon Twelfe night, the Masque being put off, the play called *A Vowe and a Good One* was acted by the Prince's servants.

'Upon Sonday, being the 19th of January, the Prince's Masque, appointed for Twelfe-day, was performed; the speeches and songs composed by Mr. Ben Jonson,[1] and the scene made by Mr. Inigo

---

his demise. To this catalogue are to be added, *The Tamer Tamed*, and *The Mad Lover*, the precise dates of which are not fixed. In the three years 1622, 1623, 1624, he wrote nine plays; and if he had proceeded at the same rate since the death of Beaumont, the latter, as Malone observes, must have had a much less share in what are considered the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, than is generally imagined.

[1] The title of it was *Time vindicated to himself and to his Honours.* Gifford, quoting this passage as he found it given by Malone, speaks of it as taken from the *Dulwich College MS.* There is no such MS. in Dulwich College, and it never was deposited there: unluckily, it does not at all follow, that because a MS. is not found in Dulwich College

Jones, which was three times changed during the tyme of the Masque: where, in the first that was discovered, was a prospective of Whitehall, with the banquetting-house: the second was the Masquers in a cloud; and the third in a forest. The French Ambassador was present: the Antemasques of tumblers and jugglers.

'The Prince did lead the measures with the ambassador's wife.

'The measures, braules, corrantos, and galliards being ended, the Masquers with the ladies did daunce two countrey daunces, namely, the Soldiers Marche and Huff Hanakin, where the French ambassador's wife, and Mademoysala St. Luke did daunce.

'At Candlemas *Malvolio* was acted at Court by the King's servants.

'At Shrovetide, the King being at Newmarket, and the Prince out of England, there was neither Masque nor play, nor any other kind of Revels held at Court.'

The Mask here spoken of, as having been 'put off', on Twelfth-night, was Ben Jonson's *Time Vindicated*, which the folio of 1640 (where it was first published) states to have been presented on Twelfth-night. Why it was then, in fact, postponed is not explained.

A dreadful accident happened in a house adjoining the Blackfriars Theatre, on the 26th of October 1623. A. D. Camden, in his *Annals*, says, that the theatre itself 1623. fell down, and that eighty-one spectators were killed; but he was misinformed upon this point: the catastrophe occurred in a large upper room, of what was formerly the residence of Lord Hunsdon, but then occupied by the French ambassador, whose lady had danced at Court the preceding Christmas. The fact was (as appears from Howes, the continuator of Stowe, and other authorities) that on the occasion in question about three hundred persons had assembled to hear a sermon from a Roman Catholic preacher of the name of Drury, when

now, that it never was there. It is a great piece of good fortune that Henslowe's *Diary*, mutilated as it has been, found its way back to its original depository: it was printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1845.

the floor gave way, and about eighty persons were killed, and as many more had their limbs broken, or were otherwise injured. Among the *Harleian MSS.* is a particular 'description of that wonderful slaughter of people that was in the Blackfryers 1623', which begins thus, giving the precise time and locality: 'On Sunday (the 26th Octob. 1623, *stilo vet:* the 5 of Novemb. *stilo novo*) in the afternoone about three of the clocke, in a large garret, being the third and uppermost storie of an highe edifice of stone and bricke, at the entring into the French Ambassadors House, and within the precinct of Black-fryers, London,' etc. A pamphlet, mentioned by Malone, was published just afterwards, called '*A Word of Comfort, or a Discourse concerning the late lamentable accident*'; but he was not acquainted with a broad-side of fourteen seven-line stanzas, by Math. Rhodes, called '*The Dismal Day at the Blackfryers*', where a detail of the sad event is given in what was meant for impressive verse.[1]

[1] The full title of this performance, 'Imprinted at London, by G. Eld., 1623', is the following:—

'The dismall Day at the Black Fryers. Or a deploreable Elegie on the death of almost an Hundred Persons, who were lamentably slaine by the fall of a House in the Blacke Fryers, being all assembled there (after the manner of their Devotions) to heare a Sermon on Sunday Night, the 26th of October last past, *An.* 1623.' It opens thus:—

'From the vast chaos of distempred Mindes
My Muse doth flutter forth her moystned wings,
Upheld with gusts and gales of sighing windes
In this sad Swan-like Elegie she sings;
For inbred griefes her heart so nearly stings,
That from thee (gentle Reader) we must borrow
Some teares of pity in such theames of sorrow.

'Oh grave Melpomine, assist my pen,
Whilst I in dolefull manner doe recite
The heavy death of neere an hundred men,

The following are the particulars supplied, by Sir H. Herbert, concerning plays and masks performed at Court in 1623 and 1624 :—

Whose tragicke ends my soule doth much affright,
With fearfull horror of that dismall night.
Ah fatall Vesper! whose like hath not beene
Since the Sicilian Vespers ever seene.'

It then relates that Drury, a Jesuit, was in the act of preaching when the floor fell, and the disaster occurred, which is thus described :—

'And when the upper floore, that first did breake,
Fals on the second, where they hop't to stay,
Yet on the sudden, ere a man could speake,
They on the ground all bruizd and smothered lay;
Some stifled up with lome, stones, dust, and clay:
And some for help and succour loudly calling,
All broken, bruizd, and mangled in their falling.'

The last stanza runs thus piously :—

'O Lord! defend thy church and common-weale,
Maintaine thy Gospell free in this our land,
And since to us thy Truth thou dost reveale,
In zeale unto it let us ever stand:
Protect our King still from his Enemies hand;
And when we must resign our vitall breath
Save us (O Lord) from strange and sudden death.'

'MATH. RHODES.'

The original is in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1625 was published a Latin poem on the same incident: it was by Richard Horde of Cambridge, with a cut of the catastrophe, people falling among beams and ruins.

The following two registrations of death are from the books of St. Anne, Blackfriars: possibly, the only Protestants killed there.—'Dorothy, wife to Matthew Sommers (she was slain at a Priest's Sermon), buried 28 Oct. 1623. Mary Clement, waiting-woman to the said Dorothy, slain with her mistress, buried 28 Oct. 1623.'

'Note of such playes as were acted at Court in 1623 and 1624.

'Upon Michaelmas night at Hampton Court, *The Mayd of the Mill* by the K[ing's] company.

'Upon Allhollows night at St. James, the Prince being there only, *The Mayd of the Mill* againe, with reformations.

'Upon the 5th of November at Whitehall, the Prince being there only, *The Gipsye*, by the Cockpit company.

'Upon St. Stevens daye, the King and Prince being there, *The Mayd of the Mill*, by the K. company. At Whitehall.

'Upon St. Johns night, the Prince only being there, *The Bondman*,[1] by the Queenes[2] company. At Whitehall.

'Upon Innocents night, falling out upon a Sonday, *The Buck is the Thief*, the King and Prince being there. By the Kings company. At Whitehall.

'Upon New-yeares night, by the K. company, *The Wandering Lovers*, the Prince only being there. At Whitehall.

'Upon the Sonday after, beinge the 4th of Jany 1623, by the Queene of Bohemias company, *The Changelinge*, the Prince only being there. At Whitehall.

'Upon Twelfe night, the Maske being put off, *More Dissemblers*

---

[1] Malone made out a list of the periods of licensing all Massinger's plays, from *The Bondman*, on Dec. 3, 1623, to *The Fair Anchoress of Pausilippo*, on Jan. 26, 1639-40—twenty-four in number; but as Gifford availed himself of the materials thus furnished in his edition of Massinger's *Works*, 1821, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

[2] It was Malone's conjecture, that 'the Queenes Company' here mentioned was the Queen of Bohemia's company, as Queen Anne died in 1619. See Gifford's *Massinger*, ii, 122. According to the list prefixed to *The Renegado*, 'often acted by the Queens Majesty's servants at the private playhouse in Drury Lane,' and first produced on April 17, 1624, the following were some of the performers at that date at the Cockpit:—'John Blanye, John Sumner, Mich. Bowyer, Will Reignalds, Will. Allen, Will. Robins, Ed. Shakerley, Ed. Rogers, Theo. Bourne.

Sir H. Herbert speaks of the Queen's company, which played at the Cockpit, and of the Queen of Bohemia's company, at the same date and as distinct associations of actors. We may reasonably doubt it.

besides Women, by the Kings company, the Prince only being there. At Whitehall.

'To the Duchess of Richmond, in the King's absence, was given the *Winters Tale*, by the K. company, the 18th Jan. 1623.[1] At Whitehall.

'Upon Allhollows night 1624, the King being at Royston, no play.

'The night after my Lord Chamberlain had *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, for the ladys, by the Kings company.

'Upon St. Steevens night, the Prince only being there, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife:* by the Kings company. At Whitehall.

'Upon St. Johns night, ——— and the Duke of Brunswick being there, *The Fox*, by the ———. At Whitehall.

'Upon Innocents night, the ——— and the Duke of Brunswyck being there, *Cupid's Revenge*, by the Queene of Bohemias Servants. At Whitehall. 1624.

'Upon New-years night, the Prince only being there, the First part of *Sir John Falstaff*, by the King's company. At Whitehall. 1624.

'Upon Twelve night, the Masque being put off and the Prince only there, *Tu Quoque*, by the Queene of Bohemias servants. At Whitehall. 1624.

'Upon Sonday night following, being the 9th of January, 1624, the Masque was performed.

'On Candlemas night, the 2 of February, no play, the King being at Newmarket.

The Mask noticed in the preceding extracts was Ben Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph*. The folio of 1640 is again in error in stating that it was celebrated on Twelfth night, and

[1] *The Winter's Tale* had been revived in the August preceding, as appears by the following entry in Sir H. Herbert's MS.:—

'For the Kings players. An olde playe called *Winters Tale*, formerly allowed of by Sir George Bucke, and likewyse by mee on Mr. Heminges his worde, that there was nothing profane added or reformed, though the allowed booke was missinge; and therefore I returned it without a fee, this 19 of August 1623.'

Gifford did not correct it. Sir H. Herbert enters twenty plays, as licensed by him in the year 1623; the names and other particulars regarding which, as copied by Chalmers, are added below.[1] Malone states, that on the 10th April 1624,

[1] *Supplemental Apology*, p. 213. It will be remarked, that Chalmers omits to notice the revival of the *Winter's Tale* in August 1623, mentioned in a previous note.

1623.

10 May. A new Play called *The Blacke Ladye* was allowed to be acted by the Lady Elizabeth's servants.

A new Play called *The Witch Traveller* was allowed to be acted by the players of the Revels.

3 June. A new Play called *The Valiant Scholler* was allowed to be acted by the Lady Elizabeth's servants.

10 June. A new Play called *The Duche Painter, and the French Branke* [q. *Braule*] was allowed to be acted by the Prince's servants at the Curtayne.

27 July. For the Palsgraves Players, a French tragedy of *Richard the Third or the English Profit*, with the Reformation, written by Samuel Rowley.

30 July. For the Princes Players, a French tragedy of *The Bellman of Paris*, written by Thomas Dekkirs and John Day for the company of the Red Bull.

Aug. For the Company of the Curtain, a Tragedy of *The Plantation of Virginia*—the profaneness to be left out, otherwise not tolerated.

19 Aug. For the Princes Servants of the Red Bull, an oulde Play called *The peaceable King, or the Lord Mendall*, which was formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke, and likewise by me.

1623.

21 Aug. For the Lady Elizabeth's Servants of the Cockpit, an old Play called *Match me in London*, which had been formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke.

29 Aug. For the Kings Players, a new Comedy called *The Maid of the Mill*, written by Fletcher and Rowley.

12 Sept. For the Lady Elizabeth's Players, a new Comedy called *The Cra.....Marchant, or Come to my Countrey House*, written by William Bonen. It was acted at the Red Bull, and

Sir Henry Herbert licensed a play by Davenport, called *The History of Henry the First;* but it does not appear among the extracts made by Chalmers from the MS. Office-book of the Deputy Master of the Revels, showing the number and names of the plays allowed by him in the year 1624.[1]

licenced without my hand to it, because they were none of the four Companys.

18 Sept. For a Company of Strangers, a new Comedy called *Come see a Wonder*, written by John Daye.

2 Oct. For the Princes Companye, a new Comedye called *A Fault in Friendship*, written by Young Johnson and Broome.

17 Oct. For the Kings Company, an old Play called *More Dissemblers besides Women*, allowed by Sir George Bucke; and being free from alterations was allowed by me for a new Play called *The Devil of Dowgate or Usury put to Use*, written by Fletcher.

29 Oct. For the Palsgraves Players, a new Comedy called *Hardshift for Husbands, or Bilboes the best Blade*, written by Samuel Rowley.

19 Nov. For the Palsgraves Players, a new Tragedy called *Two Kings in a Cottage*, written by Bonen.

28 Nov. For a strange Company at the Red Bull, *The Fayre fowle one, or the Bayting of the Jealous Knight*, written by Smith.

1623.

3 Dec. For the Queen of Bohemias Company, *The Noble Bondman*, written by Philip Messenger, gent.

4 Dec. For the Palsgraves Players, *The Hungarian Lion*, written by Gunnell.

6 Dec. For the Kings Company, *The Wandring Lovers*, written by Mr. Fletcher.

---

[1] *Suppl. Apol.*, p. 217. They are these:—

1624.

2 Jan. For the Palsgraves Company *The History of the Dutchess of Suffolk;* which being full of dangerous matter was much reformed by me: I had two pounds for my pains. Written by Mr. Drew.

There is another omission of importance in this list: it relates to a play by Thomas Middleton, called *A Game of*

6 Jan. For the Prince's Company, *The Four Sons of Amon;* being an old Play, and not of a legible hand.

26 Jan. For the Palsgraves Company: A Tragedy called *The Whoré in Grain.*

3 Mar. For the Cockpit Company, *The Sun's Darling;* in the nature of a Masque, by Deker and Forde.

6 April. For the Fortune: a new Comedy called *A Match or no Match.* Written by Mr. Rowleye.

17 April. For the Fortune: *The Way to content all Women, or How a Man may please his Wife.* Written by Mr. Gunnell.

For the Cockpit: *The Renegado, or the Gentleman of Venice.* Written by Messinger.

3 May. For the Princes Company: a new Play called *The Madcap.* Written by Barnes.

An old Play called *Jugurth, King of Numidia,* formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke.

15 May. The Tragedy of *Nero* was allowed to be printed.

21 May. For the Palsgraves Company: a Play called *Humour in the End.*

27 May. For the King's Company: a Comedy called *A Wife for a Month.* Written by Fletcher.

For the Princes Company: a Play called *The Parracide.*

11 June. A new Play called *The Fairy Knight.* Written by Forde and Dekker.

3 Sept. For the Cockpit Company: a new Play called *The Captive, or the Lost recovered.* Written by Hayward.

A new Tragedy called *A late Murther of the Son upon the Mother.* Written by Forde and Webster.

15 Sept. For the Palsgraves Company: a Tragedy called *The Fair Star of Antwerp.*

14 Oct. For the Cockpit Company: a new Play called *The City Night Cap.* Written by Davenport.

15 Oct. For the Palsgraves Company: a new Play called *The Angell King.*

22 Oct. For the Palsgraves Company: a new Play called *The Bristowe Merchant.* Written by Forde and Decker.

Chess, which, prior to the 12th of August 1624 (having been licenced by Sir H. Herbert) was performed at the Globe with extraordinary success.[1] In a copy of the play (of which there were at least two editions without date, and a third in 1625), in the possession of Major Pearson, was written, in an old hand, the information that it was performed nine days in succession, and that the company took at the doors of the theatre more than 1500*l.*[2] The amount must certainly have been exaggerated, but the fact of the nine repetitions is very likely correct: after this remarkable run, the performance was suddenly stopped by authority, and the conduct of Sir H. Herbert in licensing the play called in question, which may account for the non-insertion of any notice of it in his office-book. The most minute and accurate information upon this topic is contained in the registers of the Privy Council,[3] where the correspondence between that body and Secretary Conway is inserted at length. Hence we learn that King James, being at Rufford, received information from the Spanish Ambassador, that a play was in course of performance at the Globe, which brought upon the stage the

> 3 Nov. For the Cockpit Company: a new Play called *The Parliament of Love*. Written by Massinger.
>
> For the Palsgraves Company: a new Play called *The Masque*. The Masque book was allowed of for the press, and was brought me by Mr. Jon [q. Jonson] the 29th December 1624.

[1] Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, ii, 437) states that Middleton's *Game of Chess* was first acted in 1625, by the King's servants, at the Globe, but he was mistaken in the date.

[2] Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 500.

[3] The only inaccuracy in them seems to be calling Thomas Middleton, Edward: there was no dramatic poet of that day of the name of Edward Middleton. The printed copies all purport to have been written by Thomas Middleton.

King his master, Count Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalato and others connected with the Court of Spain; and on the 12th of August 1624, Secretary Conway (after complaining that the first intelligence upon the subject was not derived from some of the English ministers, and after referring to a former order, of which we have no other information, against bringing 'any modern Christian Kings' upon the stage) directed the Privy Council to call before it the author and players.[1] Immediate steps were no doubt taken for the purpose, but it was not until the 21st August that it was certified to the Secretary from the Privy Council,

[1] The whole of the letter on this important incident is set out in the Register of the Privy Council in the following terms:—

'May it please your Lordships—His Majesty hath received information from the Spanish Ambassador of a very scandalous comedy acted publicly by the King's players, wherein they take the boldness, and presumption, in a rude, and dishonorable fashion, to represent on the stage the persons of his Majesty the King of Spain, the Conde de Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalato, &c. His Majesty remembers well, there was a commandment and restraint given against the representing of any modern Christian Kings in those stage plays; and wonders much at the boldness now taken by that company, and also that it hath been permitted to be so acted, and that the first notice thereof should be brought to him by a foreign Ambassador, while so many ministers of his own are there abouts, and cannot but have heard of it. His Majesty's pleasure is, that your Lordships presently call before you, as well the poet that made the comedy, as the comedians that acted it; and, upon examination of them, to commit them, or such of them as you shall find most faulty, unto prison: if you find cause, or otherwise take security for their forthcoming, and then certify his Majesty, what you find that comedy to be, in what points it is most offensive, by whom it was made, by whom licenced, and what course you think fittest to be held for the exemplary and severe punishment of the present offenders, and to restrain such insolent and licentious presumption for the future.

'This is the charge I have received from his Majesty, and with it I make bold to offer to your Lordships the humble service of, &c.

'From Rufford, Aug. 12th, 1624.'

that the players had been summoned and reproved, and the piece, which, however, bore the name of the Master of the Revels to the licence, forbidden.[1]. Middleton, the author,

[1] The following was the reply of the Privy Council:—'After our hearty commendations, &c.—According to His Majesty's pleasure, signified to this board by your letter of the 12th August, touching the suppression of a scandalous comedy acted by the King's players, we have called before us some of the principal actors, and demanded of them by what license and authority they have presumed to act the same; in answer whereto they produced a book, being an original and perfect copy thereof (as they affirmed) seen and allowed by Sir Henry Herbert Knt., Master of the Revells, under his own hand, and subscribed in the last page of the said book: We demanding further, whether there were not other parts or passages represented on the stage, than those expressly contained in the book, they confidently protested, they added, or varied from the same, nothing at all. The poet, they tell us, is one Middleton, who shifting out of the way, and not attending the board with the rest, as was expected, we have given warrant to a messenger for the apprehending of him. To those that were before us we gave a sound and sharp reproof; making them sensible of his Majesty's high displeasure herein, giving them straight charge and commands, that they presumed not to act the said comedy any more, nor that they suffered any play or interlude whatsoever to be acted by them, or any of their company, until his Majesty's pleasure be further known. We have caused them likewise to enter into bond for their attendance upon the board whensoever they shall be called. As for our certifying to his Majesty (as was intimated by your letter) what passages in the said comedy we should find to be offensive and scandalous, we have thought it our duties, for his Majesty's clearer information, to send herewithal the book itself, subscribed as aforesaid by the Master of the Revels, that so either yourself, or some other, whom his Majesty shall appoint to peruse the same, may see the passages themselves out of the original, and call Sir Henry Herbert before you, to know a reason of his licensing thereof, who (as we are given to understand) is now attending at Court. So having done as much as we conceived agreeable to our duties, in conformity to his Majesty's royal commandments, and that which we hope shall give him full satisfaction, we shall continue our humble prayers to Almighty God for his health and safety, and bid you very heartily farewell.

'21st August 1624.'

had 'shifted out of the way'; but a warrant having been issued for his apprehension, on the 30th August he tendered his appearance, and his 'indemnity' was registered.[1] The reason why no punishment was inflicted, either upon the players or poet, was perhaps that they had acted the piece under the authority of the Master of the Revels; and in a letter from Woodstock, of the 27th August, Secretary Conway stated the King's unwillingness, for the fault of one person, to make the innocent suffer, and ruin the company.[2] This was after the play itself, as licensed by Sir H. Herbert, had been sent down to the King for perusal; but whether any and what punishment was inflicted upon the Master of the Revels does not appear: we only know, that he continued to discharge the duties of his situation as usual.

The dates of Howel's *Familiar Letters* have frequently been found incorrect, or we might conclude that the previous

[1] In the following form:—'This day (30th Aug. 1624) Edward [Thomas] Middleton, of London, gent., being formerly sent for by warrant from this board, tendered his appearance, wherefore his indemnity is here entered into the register of council causes: nevertheless he is enjoined to attend the board, till he be discharged by order of their Lordships.'

[2] This communication was as follows:—'Right Honorable,—His Majesty having received satisfaction in your Lordships endeavors, and in the signification thereof to him by your's of the 21st of this present, hath commanded me to signify the same to you. And to add further, that his pleasure is, that your Lordships examine, by whose direction, and application, the personating of Gondomar, and others was done; and that being found out, the party or parties to be severely punished. His Majesty being unwilling for one's sake, and only fault, to punish the innocent, or utterly to ruin the company. The discovery on what party his Majesty's justice is properly, and duly, to fall, and your execution of it, and the account to be returned thereof, his Majesty leaves to your Lordships wisdom and care. And this being that I have in charge, continuing the humble offer of my service and duty to the attendance of your commandments, &c. From Woodstock, the 27th August 1624.'

order, referred to in Secretary Conway's first communication to the Privy Council, against representing 'any modern Christian Kings' in plays, had arisen out of some earlier representation of the same kind, in which Gondomar also formed a character. Howel writes thus from Madrid on the 15th of August 1623:—'I am sorry to hear how other nations do much tax the English of their incivility to public Ministers of State, and what ballads and pasquils and fopperies and plays were made against Gondomar for doing his Master's business.' If the letter containing this paragraph be genuine, and refer to Middleton's *Game of Chess*, it must have been written subsequent to August 1624, in order to give time for the tidings regarding the nature of the play to reach Spain. The fact is, that Prince Charles returned from Spain, after breaking off the match with the Infanta, late in the autumn of 1623; and to take advantage of the popular feeling upon this question, Middleton's play was probably written in the succeeding spring, and certainly acted at the Globe in the summer.[1]

This was the last transaction of the reign of James I con-

[1] The following official letter, only recently discovered, may be said to close up the whole affair, which occasioned no little stir in the theatrical world of that day. The original is in the library of F. Ouvry, Esq., late President of the Society of Antiquaries.

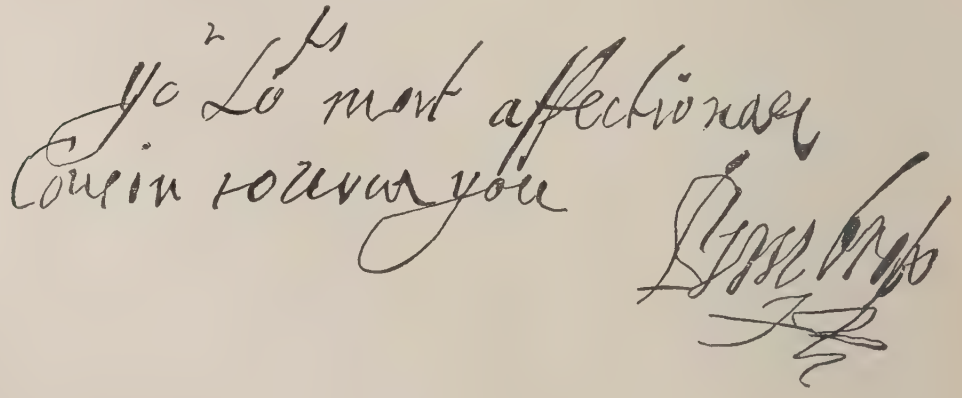
Indorsed 27th August 1624—'A letter to the Lords of the Counsell from my Lord Chamberlain about the Players.'

Addressed—'To the right hon'ble my very good Lord, the Lord Viscount Maundeville, Lord President of his Majestys most hon'ble Privy Counsell, theis.

'My very good Lord—Complaynt being made unto his Majesty against the Company of his comedians, for acting publiquely a Play knowne by the name of a *Game at Chesse*, contayning some passages in it reflecting in matter of scorne and ignominy upon the King of Spaine, some of his Ministers, and others of good note and quality, his Majesty out of the tender regard hee had of that King's honor and those of his

nected with the drama, excepting the performance of Ben Jonson's mask of *Pan's Anniversary*. The date of this piece has not been precisely ascertained, but it is marked 1625, and

Ministers who were conceived to bee wounded thereby, caused his letters to be addressed to my Lords and the rest of his most hon'ble Privy Council, thereby requiring them to convent those his Comedians before them, and to take such course with them for this offence as might give best satisfaction to the Spanish Ambassador and to their owne Honnors. After examination that hon'ble Board thought fitt not onely to interdict them playing of that play, but of any other also, untill his Majesty should give way unto them. And for their obedience hereunto they weare bound in 300*li.* bondes. Which punishment when they had suffered (as his Majesty conceives) a competent tyme, upon their petition delivered heere unto him, it pleased his Majesty to comaund mee to lett your Lordship understand (which I pray your Lordship to impart to the rest of that hon'ble Board) that his Majesty now conceives the punishment, if not satisfactory for that their insolency, yet such as, since it stopps the current of their poore livelyhood and maintenance, without much prejudice they cannot longer undergoe. In consideration, therefore, of those his poore servants, his Majesty would haue their Lordships connive at any common play lycensed by authority, that they shall act as before. As for this of *The Game at Chesse*, that it bee not onely antiquated and sylenced, but the Players bound as formerly they weare, and in that point onely never to act it agayne. Yet notwithstanding that my Lords proceed in their disquisition to fynd out the originall roote of this offence, whether it sprang from the Poet, Players, or both, and to certify his Majesty accordingly. And so desiring your Lordship to take this into your consideration, and them unto your care I rest.' (27th August 1624.)



it was most likely represented at Christmas 1624-5. The reign of James, as regards dramatic performances, may be closed by the subsequent extract of a letter, dated 8th of January 1624-5, from Sir Dudley Carlton's constant, and usually accurate, correspondent, John Chamberlain :—

'The King kept his chamber all this Christmas, not coming once to the chapel, nor to any of the plays; only in fair weather he looked abroad in his litter to see some flights at the brook. The Duke of Brunswick went hence on New-year's day, after he had tarried just a week, and performed many visits to almost all the great Lords and Ladies, as to the Lord of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper and the rest, not omitting Mrs. Bruce, nor the stage at Blackfriars.'

Sir Dudley Carlton was, at this date, in the Low Countries, and relied upon Chamberlain, in the default of newspapers, to keep him well informed regarding public and private transactions in England.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1625 TO THE YEAR 1635.

CHARLES succeeded his father on the 27th of March 1625: Parliament was assembled on the 18th of June following, and the first statute passed was directed against the performance of interludes and common plays on Sunday. The clause of the Act is thus worded:—'That from and after forty days, next after the end of this Session of Parliament, there shall be no meetings, assemblies, or concourse of people out of their own parishes on the Lord's day within this realm, or any of the dominions thereof, for any sports or pastimes whatsoever, nor any bear-baiting, interludes, common plays, or other unlawful exercises or pastimes used by any person or persons within their own parishes; and that every person and persons offending in any of the premises shall forfeit for every offence three shillings and fourpence.' Thus bear-baiting, interludes, and common plays were forbidden entirely on Sunday, but other lawful sports and pastimes were permitted, provided the persons present belonged to the parish in which they took place.[1] A. D. 1625.

Notwithstanding this inauspicious commencement, which, in truth, was only enforcing the previous orders of the Privy

[1] It was followed by the 3 Car. I, c. 2, to prevent the profanation of the Lord's-day by carriers, waggoners, carters, wainmen, butchers, and drovers, who had hitherto travelled on Sunday without molestation.

Council by the authority of an Act of Parliament, Charles showed himself in the outset of his reign well disposed to encourage plays and players. The plague made its appearance in London in June, with so much malignity, that on the 19th of that month it was deemed expedient to adjourn Trinity Term: nevertheless, on the 24th of June, Charles renewed to his company of comedians the royal licence which had been conceded by his father, including the clause, first introduced in March 1619-20, providing that they should not perform in the metropolis until the number of persons infected should not exceed forty in the week. We add the names of the players as they stand in the patent, to shew, by comparison, those who had died, or retired, or had been added in the interval between 1620 and 1625: they were, in the latter year:—John Hemmings, Henry Condell, John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, Richard Robinson, Robert Benfield, John Shancks, William Rowley, John Rice, Elliard Swanston, George Birch, Richard Sharpe, and Thomas Pollard.

The principal names wanting in this list are those of Richard Burbadge, who was dead, and Nathaniel Field, who had, probably, quitted the stage, as we find no later trace of him. Hemmings and Condell, who had jointly published the first folio of Shakespeare's plays in 1623, had both ceased to act in 1625, but they were still considered members of the company, although Joseph Taylor, whose name comes fourth in the list, was, in one instance at least, looked upon by persons in authority as the head of the King's servants. The patent of Charles, from the original in the Rolls, was in the following terms:—

'De Concessione specialis Licentiæ Johanni Hemings et aliis.

'Charles by the grace of God, etc. To all Justices, Maiors, Sherriffes, Constables, Headboroughes, and other our officers and loving subjects greeting. Know ye that Wee of our especiall grace, cer-

tayne knowledge, and meere motion have licensed and authorized, and by these presents do licence and authorize, our welbeloved servants John Hemings, Henry Condall, John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, Richard Robinson, Robert Benefeild, John Shanck, William Rowley, John Rice, Elliart Swanston, George Birch, Richard Sharpe, and Thomas Pollard, and the rest of their associates, freely to use and exercise the art and facultye of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Morralls, Pastoralls, Stage Playes, and such other like as they have already studied, or hereafter shall use or study, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when we shall think good to see them, during our pleasure; and the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage Playes and such like to shew and exercise publiquely, or otherwise, to the best comoditie when the infection of the Plague shall not weekely exceede the nomber of forty, by the Certificate of the Lord Mayor of London for the time being, as well within these two theire most usuall houses, called the Globe within our County of Surrey, and their private House scituate within the precinct of the Black Fryers within our Citty of London, as also within any Townehalls, or Moutehalls, or other convenient places within the Liberties and Freedome of any other Citty, university, town, or Borough whatsoever within our said Realmes and Dominions: willing and commanding you and every of you, and all other our loving subjects, as you tender our pleasure, not onely to permit and suffre them herein without any your letts, hinderances, or molestations, dureing our said pleasure, but alsoe to be aydeing and assisting to them, if any wrong be to them offered, and to allow them such former courtesies as have been given to men of their place and quality: and also, what further favour you shall shew to these our servants, and the rest of their associates for our sakes, Wee shall take kindly at your hands. In witness, etc. Witnes our selfe at Westmynster, the foure and twenteth day of June.

'Per breve de privato sigillo.'[1]

---

[1] It may deserve a note to state that Henry Martin was at this time

As it was out of the question that either the King's servants, or any other company, should play in London at this date, in consequence of the extent and virulence of the infectious malady (which first made its appearance in Whitechapel, and continued to rage with unabated fury during the summer and autumn), most of the performers departed to exercise their 'art and faculty' in the country, which, it will be perceived, the King's servants were permitted to do by their patent: on the 1st of July they also procured the licence of the Master of the Revels for the same purpose,[1] a course that would seem altogether unnecessary, excepting perhaps as it was the occasion of the payment of a fee. Hemmings, no doubt, did not accompany his brethren, and we know that Condell then resided at Fulham, having completely relinquished the stage as a profession.[2]

Sargeant Trumpeter to the King; and that, by royal order, he was to be allowed from the players the fee of twelve pence when he 'sounded at any plays, dumb shows, or models'. What were then meant by 'models' is not clear. The fee seems to have been an old one, but at what date it had commenced is not stated in the MS. (*Ashmole*, s. 57, p. 348) containing the information, nor, we believe, elsewhere.

[1] Chalmers (*Supp. Apol.*, p. 185), alluding to this circumstance, and not recollecting the cause of the departure of the players from the metropolis, observes upon it, 'It is a curious fact, that at this epoch (1625), the established companies of London strolled often into the country,' and he attributes it to the then 'multiplicity of associated players and the paucity of attractive plays'. The fact is, that the 'established companies of London', at all times were in the habit of going into the country to perform, especially whenever there was such a degree of sickness in the capital, as induced the public authorities to suspend theatrical representations.

[2] A printed tract, incidentally connected with the drama, was published by him in 1825, which has hitherto been unnoticed. It is called *The Run-aways Answer to a book called A Rod for Run-aways*, justifying those who had fled from the capital in consequence of the plague, and

By the 21st Dec. 1625 the virulence of the plague had considerably diminished; but on that day the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London took occasion to make a formal representation to the Privy Council (while admitting the comparative freedom of the City from infection), imputing the late visitation to the numerous playhouses near the City, but beyond the jurisdiction of the Corporation: they therefore prayed that such exhibitions should not only not be encouraged, but entirely suppressed. The Lord Mayor of that year was Allin Cotton, and he subscribed the document on behalf of the whole body: whether anything, and what, was done in consequence does not appear.

The pestilence did not cease until the end of January 1625-6,[1] and during the whole interval between that month and the preceding June, the actors, who were accustomed to exhibit in London, were driven to procure an uncertain subsistence in the provinces, where they were not unfrequently ill received, because it was thought that they might be the bearers of infection. As the King's Servants were usually required to attend the Court at Christmas, it is probable that they returned to London, or its vicinity, shortly before that season, in order to be in readiness. It might be concluded that the body would be in no very flourishing circumstances, even if we had no evidence upon the point; but so ill were

among the rest all the players. He was not the author of it, but it was sent to him with a letter, addressed by persons signing themselves by their initials, B. V., S. O., T. O., A. L., and V. S., to 'our much-respected and worthy friend, Mr. H. Condell, at his country-house in Fulham', in order that he might procure it to be printed: the letter is dated 'from Oxford and elsewhere, Sept. 10, 1625', and the body of the tract alludes to the Blackfriars and the Cock-pit playhouses, but it contains no distinct intelligence regarding the then condition of the stage.

[1] On the 29th January, a general thanksgiving was offered up, because at that date the number of deaths had considerably decreased.

the players furnished to discharge their duties to their royal master, that the King found it necessary (perhaps on the representation of the Master of the Revels) to grant them a Privy Seal with a gift of 100 marks, in order that they might provide themselves with due apparel. This document (preserved at the Chapter-house) is, we believe, the first of its kind extant, and as a proof of the encouragement Charles was desirous of extending to the stage, we may quote this instance of, as it was called, 'princely bounty'.

'By the King.—Right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councellor, we greet you well; and will and command you, that, under our Privy Seal, you cause our letters to be addressed forth in form following:—Charles by the grace of God, etc. To the Treasurer and Undertreasurer of our Exchequer greeting. Whereas we have been pleased to bestow upon the Company of our Players, who are to attend us daily at our Court this Christmas, the sum of one hundred marks for the better furnishing them with apparel: We do hereby will and command you, of our treasure in the receipt of our Exchequer, to cause present payment to be made unto Joseph Taylor, gent., one of the said company, of the sum of one hundred marks, to the use of himself and the rest of his company of players, as of our free gift and princely bounty, for provision of apparel as aforesaid, without accompt, imprest, or other charge to be set upon them, or any of them, for the same or any part thereof. And these our letters, etc. Given, etc. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given under our Signet at our honor of Hampton Court, the thirtieth day of December in the first year of our reign. 'Fra. Galle.'

Six months, therefore, after the date of the Royal licence to the King's dramatic servants, (Hemmings and Condell being still at the head of the list), the players are spoken of expressly as the company of Joseph Taylor: the 100 marks were to be delivered to him 'to the use of himself and the

rest of *his* company', without any mention of Hemmings and Condell. It is not unlikely, therefore, that those two had seceded from an active share in the management on the breaking out of the plague, and the consequent closing of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres: nevertheless, we afterwards find Hemmings entering into arrangements for them with the Master of the Revels, with whom, perhaps, from his long connection, he had more ready and influential communication than the rest of his associates.[1]

The Privy Seal for the issue of 100 marks bears date after Christmas-day, and the performances of plays, if any, (of which we have no information from Sir H. Herbert, who notices no Court revels separately and distinctly after 1624), took place upon Twelfth-day and at Shrovetide. It was unquestionably intended that a Mask should be exhibited at Christmas 1625-6, because on the 19th Dec. Michael Oldsworth (a new name in these transactions) was allowed a warrant for 300*l.*, 'on account of a Mask the Queen intends to have performed at Christmas.' No production of the kind stated to have been exhibited on this occasion, is, we apprehend, extant. A. D. 1626.

It will not be out of its place here, to annex some account of the extensive musical establishment of Charles I, at the opening of his reign. We are enabled to do so by a Privy Seal, which exempts all the musicians belonging to the

[1] The following quotations upon this point are from the *Office Book* of Sir H. Herbert:—

'17 July 1626.—From Mr. Hemmings, for a courtesie done him about their Blackfriars hous, 3*l.*' (the nature of it not stated).

'From Mr. Hemming, in their company's name, to forbid the playing of Shakespeare's plays to the Red Bull Company, this 11th April 1627, 5*l.*' (proving their continued popularity).

It will be observed also in 1631, that Hemming was still treated as the leader of the Company, though he had ceased to perform.

Court from the payment of subsidies: it bears date on the 20th December 1625, and hence we learn that the King then had in his pay:—8 players on the Hautboys and Sackbuts; 6 players on the Flute; 6 players on Recorders; 11 players on Violins, including Thomas Lupo, who is termed 'Composer'; 6 players on Lutes; 4 players on Viols; 1 player on the Harp; 1 keeper of the Organs, and 15 musicians for the Lutes and Voices.[1] In the whole, fifty-eight persons, exclusive of Serjeant Trumpeters, Trumpeters, Drummers and Fifers. The 'Musicians for the Lutes and Voices', probably, consisted of the Gentlemen and the Children of the Chapel. With regard to their salaries, this instrument could not be expected to furnish information; but by another Privy Seal, dated 20th January 1625-6, it appears that Jerome Lanier, and his son William Lanier, who are termed 'Players on the Sackbuts', were allowed wages at the rate of 20*d.* per day, besides 16*l.* 2*s.* yearly for livery. In the next year

[1] Their names were the following, and some will have occurred in previous lists:—'*Musicians for the Hautboys and Sackbuts.* And. Bassano, Sam. Garsh, Jno. Snowesman, Jerome Lanier, Tho. Mason, Rich. Blagrave, Jacobi Troches, Edw. Harding.—*Musicians for the Flutes.* James Harding, Peter Guy, Innocent Lanier, Andrea Lanier, Nich. Guy, Will. Noak.—*Musicians for Recorders.* Jerome Bassano, Rob. Baker, Clement Lanier, Jno. Hussey, Antonio Bassano, Rob. Baker, jun.—*Musicians for the Violins.* Cæsar Galiardetto, Tho. Lupo, Ant. Coney, Alex. Chisham, Tho. Warren, Hor. Lupo, Jno. Harding, Leonard Mell, Jno. Hopper, Adrian Valett, Tho. Lupo (composer).—*Musicians for the Lutes.* Nich. Lanier, Rob. Jonson, Timothy Collins, Maurice Webster, John Dowland, Tho. Warwick.—*Musicians for the Violls.* Alph. Ferabosco, Dan Ferrant, Roger Mayer, John Friend.—*Musician for the Harp.* Philip Squier.—*Keeper of the Organs.* Edw. Norgate.—*Musicians for the Lutes and Voices.* John Caprario, John Daniel, Tho. Ford, Rob. Taylor, John Drew, John Lanier, Edw. Wormall, Jonas Wrench, John Coggeshall, John Ballard, John Lawrence, Rich. Dering, Alphonso ——, Robert March, Angelo Notary.

Anthony Robert was appointed 'a Musician', with a fixed salary of 40*l.* per annum.

At this period we find Sir H. Herbert treated by the Crown as Master of the Revels, and as if he discharged the duties of the place in his own right, although he was still only the deputy of Sir J. Ashley. He is called 'Master of our Revels' in a Privy Seal, dated the 7th of November 1626, by which it was ordered, that 200*l.* be paid to him for expenses of his department; and farther, that from thenceforward the Treasurer and under-Treasurer of the Exchequer was to deliver to him yearly such sums as should to them seem meet for the provision of necessaries for the Revels.[1] Here again, it may be remarked, that Charles went beyond any example of his predecessors, who never left it to the discretion of the chief officers of the Exchequer to decide how much ought, or ought not, to be expended upon Court amusements.

We have already seen, that in 1620 a patent had been in-

[1] The instrument runs as follows; and we insert it as the earliest of the kind issued by Charles I:—

'By the King.—Right trustie and right welbeloved, etc. Whereas we are informed by our trustie and welbeloved servant, Sir Henry Herbert, Knight, *Mr of our Revells*, that there are divers things necessarily to be provided for that office for our use and service. These are to will and commaund you, out of such our treasure as is nowe remayning in the receipt of our Exchequer, upon receipt hereof, to imprest to the said Mr of our Revells, or his assignes, the somme of two hundred pounds, the same to be by him imployed about provision of necessaries for the same, whereof he is to yeeld an accompt. And further, we will and commaund you, from time to time yeerely, to imprest unto the said Sir Henry Herbert, now Mr of our Revells, such somme and sommes of money to be by him expended about the provisions of necessaries for our said Revells, as to you shall seeme meete and convenient for provisions of the said office. And theis our letters, etc. Given, etc., at our Pallace of Westminster, the 7th Nov. in the second yeare of our raigne.

'Windebank.'

cautiously granted to John Cotton, John Williams, and Thomas Dixon, for the construction of an amphitheatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which being recalled, the Solicitor-General was ordered to draw up a new warrant, in less objectionable terms, and granting more limited privileges. No such warrant was then prepared; and by documents in the State Paper Office we learn, that in the summer of 1626 Williams and Dixon (for Cotton does not then appear in the transaction) renewed their application, apparently with the hope of better success from a King who had shown himself strongly attached to theatrical amusements. A 'Bill' was prepared for the purpose, and it was sent for perusal to Lord Keeper Coventry, for his opinion upon the fitness of complying with the request: he reported favourably in the first instance, as is evident from the following letter, copied from the original, which he addressed to Lord Conway: the document is headed, 'The Lo. Keeper to the Lord Conway, touching the Amphitheatre.'

'My very good Lord,—I have perused this Bill, and do call to mynd that about three or four yeres past, when I was Atturney Generall, a patent for an Amphitheater was in hand to have passed; but upon this sodain, without serch of my papers, I cannot give your lordship any account of the true cause wherefore it did not passe, nor whether that and this do varie in substans: neither am I apt upon a sodain to take impertinent exceptions to any thing that is to passe, much less to a thing that is recommended by so good a friend. But if upon perusall of my papers, which I had while I was Atturney, or upon more serious thoughts, I shall observe any thing worthy to be represented to his Ma^tie^, or to the Counsail, I shall then acquaint your Lordship; and in the meane tyme I would be loth to be the author of a motion to his Ma^tie^ to stay it: but if you fynd his Ma^tie^ att fitting leasure to move him, that he will give leave to thinke of it in this sort as I have written, it may do well, and I assure your

lordship, unlesse I fynd matter of more consequens then I observe on this sodain, it is not like to be stayed. And so I rest Yr lordship's very assured to do you service,

'Canbury, 12 August, 1626. 'Tho. Coventrye, Ch.'

Whatever might be the cause of the change in the Lord Keeper's opinion, whether it arose from a more deliberate perusal of the bill, or from earnest remonstrances of other companies of players,[1] which perhaps had been sent in, it is certain, that about a month after the date of the above letter he wrote another communication to Lord Conway, in which he took strong exceptions to the proposed new patent, representing that it went much beyond the grant which had been sought from King James, and which, after having been made, was recalled. Lord Keeper Coventry's letter is indorsed by Lord Conway in these words:—'that it is unfitt the graunt for the Amphitheatre should passe'. It is as follows, the original being likewise found in the State Paper Office.

'My Lord,—According to his Māties good pleasure, which I receaved from your lordship, I have considered of the graunt desired by John Williams and Thomas Dixon, for building an Amphitheater in Lincolns Inne fields; and comparing it with that which was propounded in king James his tyme, doe finde much difference betweene them: for that former was intended principally for martiall exercises,

---

[1] Shakerley Marmion, in his comedy called *Holland's Leaguer*, 1632, refers to this very scheme, and to the injury that it threatened to the several Companies of Players: he puts the following lines into the mouth of Agurtes, 'an impostor' and a projector:—

> 'Twill dead all my device in making matches,
> My plots of architecture, and erecting
> New amphitheatres, to draw custom
> From play-houses once a week, and so pull
> A curse upon my head from the poor scoundrels.'
>
> Act ii, scene 3.

and extraordinary shewes and solemnyties for Ambassadors and persons of honour and quality, with a cessation from other shews and sports for one daie in a moneth onlie, upon 14 daies warning: wheras by this new graunt I see little probability of anything to be used but common plaies, or ordinary sports, now used or shewed at the Beare-garden or the common Playhouses about London, for all sorts of beholders, with a restraint to all other plaies and shewes, for one day in the weeke upon two daies warning: with liberty to erect their buildings in Lincolns Inne Fields, where there are too many buildings already; and which place, in the late King's tyme, upon a petition exhibited by the Princes comedians for setting up a play-house there, was certified, by eleven Justices of peace, under their hands, to be very inconvenyent. And therefore, not holding this new graunt fitt to passe, as being no other in effect but to translate the play-houses and Beare-garden from the Bankside to a place much more unfitt, I thought fitt to give your Lordship these reasons for it; wherewithall you may please to acquaint his Mātie, if there shalbe cause. And so remayne Yr lordship's very assured frende to doe you service, 'Tho. Coventrye.

'Canbury, 28 Sept. 1626.

'Lo. Conway.'

Hence, among other points, we learn, notwithstanding the representation of Taylor the water-poet in 1612 that 'all the companies but the King's servants had left the Bank-side', that in 1626 more than one theatre was open there, besides Paris garden,[1] where plays were occasionally performed.

[1] The Globe is mentioned by name in the following extract from the *Register* of the Privy Council, dated 25th May 1626. It is 'a letter to the Justices of the Peace of the county of Surrey':—

'Whereas we are informed that on Thursday next divers loose and idle persons, some sailors and others, have appointed to meete at the Play-house called the Globe, to see a play (as is pretended), but their end is thereby to disguise some routous and riotous action, we have therefore thought fit to give you notice of the information which we have received concerning this their purpose. And do likewise hereby will and

The players and others had doubtless, though it is not so stated, petitioned the Court against the concession of a licence that must have been very prejudicial to their interests.

On the 20th of August of this year, Nathaniel Giles, who is styled 'Doctor of Music', and who was at the head of the children of the Chapel, obtained a warrant under the Privy Seal, for taking up singing boys 'in all or any cathedral, collegiate church, etc., for the service of the Chapel Royal'; and it contains a remarkable clause, showing the growth of puritanical opinions at this period, by which the boys, who from a very early date, had been accustomed occasionally to act plays for the amusement of the Court, were prevented from doing so, in consequence of its being, for the first time, thought inconsistent with their religious duties. It is in these words:—'Provided always, and we straightly charge and command, that none of the said Choristers or Children of the Chappell, soe to be taken by force of this Commission, shalbe used or employed as Comedians or Stage Players, or to exercise or acte any stage plaies, interludes, Comedies or Tragedies; for that it is not fitt or desent that such as should sing the praises of God Almighty should be trained or imployed in such lascivious and profane exercises.' This clause was probably introduced by the strong influence of the clergy.

The Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert contains no entry of any kind regarding the performance of Masks and plays at Court, at Christmas and Twelfth-tide 1626-7; but 800*l.* were issued from the Exchequer to Edmund Ta- A. D. 1626.

require you to take very careful and strict order, that no play be acted on that day; and also to have that strength about you as you shall think sufficient for the suppressing of any insolencies, or other mutinous intentions that you shall perceive, and to take with you the Under Sheriff of that county for the further assisting you, if there be cause. And so not doubting your care herein, we, etc.'

verner, Esq., for preparations, in two warrants for 400*l.* each, the one dated on the 24th of November, and the other on the 27th of December. Probably two Masks were represented, one on Twelfth-night, and the other at Shrove-tide:[1] the first was Ben Jonson's *Fortunate Isles*, which, though composed after the author had sustained a stroke of the palsy, seems to have been highly approved: it was the first work he had produced for Charles: it was employed as an introduction to a repetition of *Neptune's Triumph*, which had been represented before James at Christmas 1623-4, and which, as Gifford has observed,[2] had much pleased the present King, when Prince of Wales, just after his return from Spain, and the breaking off the match with the Infanta. A copy of one of the original Privy Seals on this occasion is subjoined in a note, and that subsequently issued for a like sum follows so nearly the same form,[3] that it is needless to insert it.

[1] This was usually called the Queen's Mask, and part of the expense of it remained unpaid for more than ten years. On the 8th of May 1638, a Privy Seal was granted to Charles Gentile, Embroiderer, for 1630*l.*, for 'embroidering done to the Queen's Mask in 1627'. Two other sums of 1631*l.* and 1674*l.* are included in the same instrument, for embroidering two state beds, apparently unconnected with the Masks.

[2] Ben Jonson's *Works*, viii, 64.

[3] 'By the King.—Right trustie and right well beloved Cousin and Councellor, etc. Charles by the grace of God, etc. Wee will and commaund you, out of treasure remaining in the receipt of our Exchequer, forthwith to paie or cause to be paied unto our trustie and well beloved Edmund Taverner, Esq., the some of foure hundred poundes, to bee disbursed by him for necessary provisions, to bee made and used in the Maske of our deerest Consort Queene Marye, shortly to be performed: the same to bee taken to him, or his assignes, without accompt, imprest, or other chardge to bee sett upon him, his executors, or assignes for the same, or for any parte thereof. And these our letters shall be, etc. Given under our signet, at our pallace of Westminster, the 24th day of November, in the second yeere of our raigne. 'Windebank.'

The only circumstance relating to the common playhouses in 1627 is a fact previously noticed, but which deserves especial remark, inasmuch as it proves the popularity of Shakespeare's plays at that date, although at Court, two or three years earlier, the productions of Fletcher may have been preferred. This preference may be partly accounted for on the score of greater novelty; but, with the public, Shakespeare was so great a favourite, that in April 1627, the interference of the Master of the Revels was purchased by the King's company, then playing at Blackfriars, at the expense of 5*l.*, to prevent the players of the large theatre, called the Red Bull, in Smithfield, from performing the dramas of Shakespeare. The exhibitions at the Fortune and Rose (and perhaps at some other theatre on the Bankside, besides the Globe), as far as we can learn, were carried on without interruption, and with all success.

Prior to January 1627-8, the cost of the Revels, notwithstanding the regular issue of large sums from the Exchequer under the authority of the Privy Seals, had been so great, that in the four preceding years, a debt of 757*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* had been incurred to the Master, and other officers, for provisions and necessaries, besides their salaries and wages. On the 2nd of January, therefore, a warrant was issued by the King for the payment of that sum, which, in the instrument, is divided into the subsequent five items, without further specification:—53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, 126*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, 105*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, 30*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*, and 497*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* These amounts, it was directed, should forthwith be delivered to the Master of the Revels, who was to distribute them among the several claimants.

Three warrants were issued for Masks at Court at Christ-
A. D. mas and Shrovetide: one, dated 2nd of January
1628. 1627-8, for 150*l.* to Edmund Taverner, Esq., for 'a Mask to be presented on Twelfth-night next'; another, dated

the 30th of the same month, to Lord Compton, Gentleman of the Robes, for '500*l.* upon accompt for eight masking suits for our service, in a Mask which shortly is to be presented;' and the third, dated 11th of February following, to Edmund Taverner, Esq., for 600*l.* 'toward the expence of a Mask to be presented shortly before us at Whitehall.' The second of these Privy Seals (all preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster) was for an unusual charge, the dresses being generally included among the other provisions; and it is most likely that they were intended for the same exhibition as that to which the 600*l.*, issued to Taverner, was to be devoted. We are without information what poet was employed on these occasions.

Very unusual powers were in this year granted to a Company taken into the dramatic service of the Lady Elizabeth, 'our dear sister': Joseph Moore was at the head of the association, but only two others are named in the Privy Seal, Robert Guilman and Joseph Townsend; and they were allowed, with the rest of their company, 'to practise the playing of comedies, histories, tragedies and interludes, in and about the City of London, or *in any other place they shall think fitting*.' We derive this novel information from the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1628 and 1629, so well prepared by the late Mr. Bruce, p. 406.

Players, who, at a very early date, called themselves the servants of any particular nobleman, usually wore his badge or his livery, and thus secured the protection they needed.[1] We

[1] By the account of the expenses of the Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Henry VII, it appears that his players were provided by him with doublets. When Tucca, in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, 1602, offers to take certain players into his 'service', he bargains with them that 'they shall buy their own cloth', besides giving him 'two shares of the receipts for his countenance'.

have clear evidence in 1629, if it were required, that each of the
A. D. 1629. King's players was allowed, every second year, four yards of bastard scarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of crimson velvet for a cape to it; and it is asserted, in the document establishing this fact, that such had always been the allowance.[1]

Malone states, that in the year 1629 a new playhouse was constructed in Whitefriars, which was afterwards called the Salisbury-court Theatre, and he was of opinion that it was not built upon the site of the old Whitefriars playhouse.[2] We have already seen that in 1613 a project was on foot, and possibly carried into execution, 'for erecting a new playhouse

[1] It was published by Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 60), from a MS. in the office of the Lord Chamberlain, to whom it was addressed. Hemmings is still there found at the head of the King's Company (for the names of all the players entitled to the allowance are inserted), then consisting of thirteen members. The document is as follows:—

'These are to signify unto your Lordship his Majesty's pleasure that you cause to be delivered unto his Majesty's players, whose names follow—viz., John Hemmings, John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, Richard Robinson, John Shank, Robert Benfield, Richard Sharp, Eliard Swanson, Thomas Pollard, Anthony Smith, Thomas Hobbes, William Pen, George Vernon, and James Horne, to each of them the several allowance of four yards of bastard scarlet for a cloake, and a quarter of a yard of crimson velvet for the capes; it being the usual allowance granted unto them by his Majesty every second year, and due at Easter last past. For the doing whereof these shall be your warrant. May 6th, 1629.'

According to the list of 'the names of such as acted' in Forde's *Lovers' Melancholy*, produced on the 24th of November 1628, Curteise Grivill, Richard Baxter, John Tomson, John Honyman, William Trigg, and Alex. Gough also belonged to the company of the King's players. Perhaps they were 'hired men', and were not entitled to liveries. Robinson and Hobbes, mentioned above, did not act in that play. Honyman was dead in 637, when T. Jordan published an epitaph upon him in his *Poetical Varieties* of that year.

[2] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 52.

in the Whitefriars.' If so, after 1629 there were two theatres in Whitefriars; which does not seem likely, unless that supposed to have been built in 1613 had not been constructed, or was shut up, or unless the new theatre of 1629 were raised in its stead, upon a larger scale, and an extended foundation. The information regarding the building of the new theatre in 1629 is very defective; but the fact is confirmed by Prynne, who in the 'Epistle Dedicatory' to his *Histriomastix*, 1633, mentions that 'a new theatre' had been then recently 'erected' in Whitefriars. It seems, in the first instance, to have been occupied by the Children of the King's Revels, and very shortly afterwards by the players of Prince Charles; who acted Marmyon's *Holland's Leaguer* there prior to 1632, when it was printed with the following list of actors belonging to the company who were engaged in it:—'William Browne, Ellis Worth, Andrew Keyne, or Cane, Matthew Smith, James Sneller, Henry Gradwell, Thomas Bond, Richard Fowler, Edward May, Robert Huyt, Robert Stafford, Richard Godwin, John Wright, Richard Fouch, Arthur Savill, and Samuel Mannery.

Many of these names are new, and the six last performed the female characters in Marmyon's comedy, which, without doubling the parts, required a strong company.

The year 1629 is to be especially marked as the first date at which any attempt was made in this country to introduce female performers upon our public stage. In France and Italy the practice had long prevailed,[1] and the experiment was tried here, though without success, by a company of French comedians at the Blackfriars Theatre. On the 4th of November

[1] Coryat, when writing his *Crudities* in 1611, tells us (p. 247), that he had seen female performers at Venice, adding that *he had heard* that females had exhibited in London—perhaps as members of a foreign company.

1629, as appears by his office-book, Sir H. Herbert received 2*l.* as his fee 'for the allowing of a French company to play a farce at Blackfriars'; but it is not upon his authority we learn, that at least part of the company consisted of women. In Prynne's *Histriomastix* (1633, p. 414) is inserted a marginal note in these words:—'Some French-women, or monsters rather, in Michaelmas term 1629 attempted to act a French play at the playhouse in Blackfriars, an impudent, shameful, unwomanish, graceless, if not more than whorish attempt.' Malone seems to have doubted if this 'attempt' were not successful; and he quotes a farther passage from the same author, where he says[1] 'they had such Frenchwomen actors in a play, not long since personated in Blackfriars playhouse, to which there was a great resort.' It does not follow, because there was great resort to the theatre on the night when the French actresses first appeared, that therefore the attempt succeeded. The contrary is certainly the fact, as might be inferred from the evidence of Sir H. Herbert himself, which I shall notice presently, and as may be seen by the following extract from a private letter, written by a person of the name of Thomas Brande, which we discovered among some miscellaneous papers in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. It does not appear to whom it was addressed, but probably to Laud while Bishop of London, and it bears date on the 8th November, fixing the very day when the foreign female performers made their first essay in England. After giving some other information, Brande proceeds as follows.

'Furthermore you should know, that last daye certaine vagrant French players, who had beene expelled from their owne contrey, *and those women*, did attempt, thereby giving just offence to all vertuous and well-disposed persons in this town, to act a certain las-

[1] *Histriomastix*, 1633, p. 215.

civious and unchaste comedye, in the French tonge at the Blackfryers. Glad I am to saye they were hissed, hooted, and pippin-pelted from the stage, so as I do not thinke they will soone be ready to trie the same againe.—Whether they had licence for so doing I know not; but I do know that, if they had licence, it were fit that the Master [of the Revels] be called to account for the same.'—

Brande was mistaken in his supposition, that the ill-reception of the French ladies at Blackfriars would deter them from renewing their attempt elsewhere; but they allowed a fortnight to elapse before they again appeared, and then at a different theatre—the Red Bull. The following appears in his office-book, in the handwriting of Sir H. Herbert.

'For allowinge of the Frenche at the Red Bull for a daye, 22nd of Nov. 1629.'

The sum he received is not inserted, but it is observable, that the permission required only extended to a single day, in anticipation, perhaps, that the actresses would not be allowed to appear again. More than three weeks elapsed before they ventured once more to face an English audience, when they chose the Fortune playhouse, having, no doubt, failed at the Red Bull on the 22nd Nov., as they had done at the Blackfriars on the 7th Nov. Of this *third* permission, also only for one day, we meet with the subsequent entry by the Master of the Revels.

'For allowinge of a French companie att the Fortune to play one afternoone, this 14 day of December 1629—£1.'

Sir H. Herbert bears positive testimony to the little success they met with on this occasion, in a memorandum subjoined to the preceding entry:—'I should have had another piece, but in respect of their ill-fortune I was content to bestow a piece back;' so that he returned half his fee on a representation of the unprofitableness of the speculation.[1]

[1] Some stress has been recently laid upon a MS. in the British Museum,

It has been asserted, both by Malone and Chalmers, that Sir H. Herbert, in conjunction with Simon Thelwall, Esq., obtained, in 1629, the reversion of the office of Master of the Revels on the deaths of Sir J. Ashley, and Ben Jonson: the first says, that the grant was dated on the 22nd August, and the last that it was dated on the 12th August. It is not a point of any moment, but they are both mistaken, as the Privy Seal (which we found among the records in the Chapter House) bears date from Bagshot on the 13th August, 5 Charles I.

Notwithstanding his infirmities, Ben Jonson produced two masks for Christmas 1630-1; one for the king, called *Love's*
A. D. *Triumph through Callipolis;* and the other for the
1631. Queen, under the title of *Chloridia:* the first was presented by the Queen and the Ladies of her Court, and the last by the King and certain Lords and Gentlemen. We have not been able to discover any warrant showing the expense of these exhibitions.[2]

On the 11th Jan. 1630-1, we find Sir H. Herbert refusing to license a play by Massinger, the name of which he does

dated 1582, as shewing that, even then, an actress had appeared in London; but it only means that a boy, 'without a voice', had unsuccessfully played the part of a 'virgin' at the theatre in that year.

[1] It was in this year—viz., on the 6th March 1629-30, after the ill success of his *New Inn*, that Charles raised the pension of Ben Jonson from 100 marks to 100*l.*, adding to it the annual gift of a tierce of Canary. The King had previously sent him a gift of 100*l.*—See Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, i, clv. In Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, it appears that Ben Jonson's salary had been 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and that that sum was paid to him on 16 July 1622.

[2] On the 4th January 1630-1, a warrant was issued under the Privy Seal for reducing the 'board wages' of the establishment of the Chapel Royal, in order that the whole might be placed upon a more economical footing. By this document (in the Chapter-house, Westminster) 10*l.* per annum were allowed to thirty-three gentlemen of the Chapel, and to the

not give, 'because (as he states in his Register) it did contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian King of Portugal, by Philip the [2nd], and there being a peace sworn twixt the Kings of England and Spain.' This anecdote serves to prove the extent to which caution was carried at this date: Sir H. Herbert adds, by way of asserting his right —'I had my fee notwithstanding, which belongs to me for reading it over, and ought to be brought always with a book.' This was establishing a new claim, as the fee had been heretofore paid for licensing, and not for refusing to license a performance.

How popular the performances of 'the King's servants' continued at the Blackfriars theatre in 1631, may be judged from the following petition presented to Laud, Bishop of London, and thus indorsed with his own hand:—'1631. The Petition of the inhabitants of the Blackfryars, about remove of the Players: To the Coun. Table.' It ran in these terms:—

'To the right Honble and right Reverend father in God, William Lord Bisp of London, one of his Ma[ts] honble privy Councell. The humble petition of the Churchwardens and Constables of Blackfriers, on the behalfe of the whole Parish. Shewing, That by reason of a Playhouse, exceedingly frequented, in the Precinct of the said Blackfriers, the inhabitants there suffer many grievances upon the inconveniences hereunto annexed, and many other.

'May it therefore please your Lordship to take the said grievances into your honble consideration for redressing thereof. And for the reviving the order, which hath beene heretofore made by the Lords

---

Serjeant of the Vestuary: two yeomen were allowed 6*d.* per day, a third yeoman and the groom 4*d.* per day; and 4*d.* per day to the twelve children of the Chapel. The whole charge for board-wages was calculated at 443*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* per annum, which seems small considering the number of recipients.

of the Councell, and the Lord Maior and the Court of Aldermen, for the removal of them. And they shall, according to their duties, ever pray for your Lordship.

'Reasons and Inconveniences induceing the inhabitants of Blackfriers London to become humble suitors to your Lordship for removing the Playhouse in the said Blackfriers.

'1. The Shopkeepers in divers places suffer much, being hindered by the great recourse to the Playes (especially of Coaches) from selling their commodities, and having their wares many tymes broken and beaten of[f] their stalles.

'2. The recourse of Coaches is many tymes so great, that the inhabitants cannot in an afternoone take in any provision of Beere, Coales, Wood or Hay, the streetes being knowne to be so exceeding straite and narrowe.

'3. The passage through Ludgate to the water is many tymes stoppd up, people in their ordinary going much endangered, quarrells, and bloodshed many tymes occasioned; and many disorderly people towards night gathered thither, under pretence of attending and waiting for those at the playes.

'4. Yf there should happen any misfortune of fier, there is not likely any present order could possibly be taken, for the disorder and number of the coaches; since there could be no speedy passage made for quenching the fyer, to the endangering both of the Parish and Cittie.

'5. Christenings and Burialls, which usually are in the afternoone, are many tymes disturbed, and persons endangered in that part, which is the greatest parte of the Parish.

'6. Persons of honour and quality, that dwell in the Parish, are restrained by the number of Coaches from going out, or coming home, in seasonable tyme, to the prejudice of their occasions. And some persons of honour have left, and others have refused houses for this very inconvenience, to the prejudice and loss of the Parish.

'7. The Lords of the Councell in former tymes have by order directed, that there shall be but two Playhouses tollerated, and those *without the Cittie;* the one at the Banke-side, the other neere

Goulding Lane (which these Players still have and use all summer), which the Lords did signifie by their letters to the Lord Maior: and in performance thereof the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen did give order that they should forbeare to play any longer there, which the Players promised to the Lord Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas (while he was Recorder of London) to observe, entreating only a little tyme to provide themselves elsewhere.'

In the year at which we have now arrived, carriages and hackney coaches had become such a nuisance near the Blackfriars Theatre, that the inhabitants petitioned not only Laud, but the Privy Council itself, against them: several tracts and ballads were also written, to make people more sensible of the evil, one of which became very popular, and has been several times reprinted: in a merry strain it calls upon the public authorities to put down hackney coaches, and opens thus:—

'As I pass'd by the other day,
Where sack and claret spring,
I heard a mad crier by the way,
That loud did cough and sing,
High down, derry derry down,
With the hackney coaches down,
They cried aloud, they make such a crowd,
Men cannot pass the town.'

It proceeds to show in what way hackney coaches became a nuisance, and an injury to every trade and profession; especially, as we may well suppose, when they blocked up the narrow streets in the neighbourhood of the theatres; and, as if with reference to the petition sent through Laud, the ballad ends as follows:—

'But to conclude, 'tis true, I hear
They'll soon be out of fashion:
'Tis thought they very likely are
To have a long vacation:

High down, derry derry down,
With the hackney coaches down !
Their term's near done, and shall be begun
No more in London town.'

It would be easy to produce other authorities to the same effect, but there can be no doubt that the shopkeepers and humbler traders were much injured by the subject of their complaint. Of quite an opposite character, however, is another song, of the same period, which has come down to us, and from which we copy a couple of amusing stanzas :—

'The City he approaches :
Carts, carriages, and coaches,
Still throng him by the way :
What shall he do, I wonder,
But make no further blunder,
And to the place of plunder,
The Theatre and Play.

'Here will he see a lady,
As handsome drest as may be,
And never note the players :
Then to a house of pleasure,
Where she will take his measure ;
He hug his nasty treasure,
In spite of all the Mayors.'

The petition to Laud was accompanied by several documents of an earlier date, beginning with the first construction of the Blackfriars Theatre, and coming down to the year 1618, in order to show the unavailing steps, taken in former times, to abate the nuisance. They have been noticed in their proper places in the course of these Annals.

From the indorsement of this petition by Laud himself, we might infer that he had laid it before the Privy Council ; but

in the registers of that body, which we have carefully examined, we find no trace of any proceedings upon it in 1631. Yet, that something was done might be gathered from the following Privy Seal, in which 100*l.* is given, in one sum, to the King's players 'in regard of their great hinderance'; unless that 'hinderance' were occasioned by the riotous state of London in the summer, when a most lawless disturbance took place in Fleet-street.

'Right trusty and right welbeloved, etc. Charles by the grace of God, etc. To the Treasurer and Under-treasurer of our Exchequer for the time being greeting. Whereas we have given order, that our servant John Heming, and the rest of our Players, shall attend upon us and our dearest Consort the Queene at our next coming to Hampton Court. And forasmuch as we are graciously pleased, in regard of their great hinderance *of late received*, whereby they are disabled to attend this service, to bestow upon them the somme of one hundred pounds, Wee do hereby will and command you, out of our treasure remayning in the receipt of our said Exchequer, forthwith to pay or cause to be paid unto the said John Heming, for himself and the rest of our said servants, the said somme of one hundred pounds, as of our free guift and bountie, without any accompt imprest or other charge to be set upon him or them, or any of them, for the same or any part thereof. And these, etc. Given under our Signet at our Pallace of Westminster, the 20 day of September, in the sixt year of our raigne.

Ex^{d}. R. Kirkham.'

In the autumn of 1631, a very singular circumstance occurred, connected with the history of the stage. Unless the whole story were a malicious invention by some of the many enemies of John Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln (who previous to his disgrace had filled the office of Lord Keeper), he had a play represented in his house in London, on Sunday, September 27th. The piece chosen for this occasion, at least

did credit to his taste, for it appears to have been Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*,[1] and it was got up as a private amusement. The animosity of Laud to Williams is well known, and in the Library at Lambeth Palace is a mass of documents referring to different charges against him, thus indorsed in the hand-writing of Laud himself: 'These papers concerning the Bp. of Lincoln wear delivered to me bye his Majesty's command.' One of them is an admonitory letter from a person of the name of John Spencer (who seems to have been a puritanical preacher) which purports to have been addressed to some lady, not named, who was present on the occasion of the performance of the play, and upon which the following indorsement was made:—'John Spencer presents the Lord Byshop of Lincolne for having a play that night [Sep$_t$. 27th, 1631] in his house, being the Lord's Day.' It is a curious specimen of objurgation, and we cannot refuse to print it entire.

'Good Madame,—It is the rule of the Apostles of our Saviour Christ to rebuke not an elder, but exhorte him as a father, and the Elderwomen as mothers—1 Thimo, 5, 1, and in the 20th verse: them that synne reprove openly that the rest may alsoe feare. Oh, therefore it would please that blessed Lord, the God of wisedome, to give unto me such grace and wisdome, that I might performe this duty to your Ladyship with that due regard to your noble quality, and tender cause of your precious soule as I ought. But howsoever I may faile in pointe of discretion, yet I hope you will beare with me, since it proceedes from a harte that doth unfainedly desire your everlasting happines, and would expose my selfe to your pleasure to prevent that which might let and hinder the same. I know it is a harde taske, and many tymes a thanklesse office, to admonish men of meane quality

[1] One of the actors exhibited himself in an Ass's head, no doubt in the part of Bottom, and in the margin of the document relating to this event, we read the words 'The playe, *M. Nights Dr.*'

of their faults, and to bring them to acknowledge their errors; much more those that are our superiors; but where grace and true nobility is, it will teach men to suffer words of exhortation with mekenes, and to say with the kingly Prophet, Lett the righteous smight mee, for that shall be as precious balme unto mee; for the wisest and the greatest in this wourld have their frailtyes and infirmityes: David, a King, a prophet and a man after God's owne harte, yet erred in numbring the people, and confessed he had done very folishly; and Solomon his sonne, the wisest and the greatest statesman that ever was upon the earth, yett erred greatly; and although he provided himselfe men singers and women singers, and the delights of the sonnes of men, yet he doth acknowledge all was but vanity and vexation of speritt. And soe, I trust, your noble harte will tell you; though you were drawne with the Bishopps coach to his house to heare such excellent musicke, such rare conceits, and to see such curious actors, and such a number of people to behold the same, yett all was but vanity and vexation of spiritt; and the more vanity, the more vexation of speritt, because it was upon the Lords-day, which should have been taken upp with better meditations, and contemplations of heaven and heavenly things. And therefore, that this maye not prove a precedente unto others, I beseeche you submitt your selfe to this censure that is passed against you, that soe it may appeare to the wourld, that though you were drawne into this errore, yett you will not stande out in it, but give glory unto God, and yield obedience unto all good lawes, that soe you may stopp the mouthes of many people, which proclaime such liberty, from this example to followe their pleasures uppon the Saboth day. But, I trust, when they doe heare that such persons are questioned and censured for beholding such vanity, it will bee a great danting and discouragement unto them, and a meanes to repaire the breache, wherein otherwise wholle troopes of people will venture to violate the Lords sacred day. Even so, beseeching the Lord God of Sabboth, that my councell may be as wholesome and acceptable unto you as the councell of Abigail was unto David, that you might say with that holy man, Blessed be the Lord God of

Israell that hath sente thee to meete mee, and blessed be thy councell, and blessed bee thou, which hath kept mee from giving any countenance or incoragement to any that presumes to profaine the Saboth of the Great God of Heaven. Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen.

'November 10, 1631. JOHN SPENCER.'

To what lady this ebullition of puritanical piety was addressed, as has been remarked, does not appear; but it was probably sent, either to Lady Montagu, or to Lady Headsey, both of whom are mentioned in the subsequent document, appended to the preceding letter, which purports to be a copy of an order, or decree, made by a self-constituted Court among the Puritans, for the censure and punishment of offences of the kind.

'A COPIE OF THE ORDER, OR DECREE *(ex officio Comisarii generalis)* JOHN SPENCER.

'Forasmuch as this Courte hath beene informed, by Mr. Comisary general, of a greate misdemenor committed in the house of the right honorable Lo. Bishopp of Lincolne, by entertaining into his house divers Knights and Ladyes, with many other householders servants, uppon the 27th Septembris, being the Saboth day, to see a playe or tragidie there acted; which began aboute tenn of the clocke at night, and ended about two or three of the clocke in the morning:

'Wee doe therefore order, and decree, that the Rt. honorable John, Lord Bishopp of Lincolne, shall, for his offence, erect a free schoole in Eaton, or else at Greate Staughton, and endowe the same with 20*l.* per ann. for the maintenance of the schoolmaster for ever.

'Likewise wee doe order, that Sr. Sydney Mountagu, Knight, for his offence, shall give to the poore of Huntingdon 5*l.*; and his lady, for her offence, five blacke gownes to 5 poore widdowes, uppon Newyeares day next.

'Likewise wee doe order, that Sr. Thomas Headsey, Knight, for his offence, shall give unto the poore of Brampton 5*l.*; and his lady, for her offence, black cloath gownes to 5 poore [widdowes], uppon Newyeares day nexte.

'Likewise wee doe order, that Mr. Williams, Mr. Trye, Mr. Harding, Mr. Hazarde, and Mr. Hulton shall eche one of them give a blacke coate, and 5*s.* in money, unto 5 poore [men] in Bugden, uppon newyeares day nexte.

'Likewise wee doe order, that Mr. Wilson, because hee was a speciall plotter and contriver of this business, and did in such a brutishe manner *acte the same with an Asses head;* and therefore hee shall, uppon Tuisday next, from 6 of the clocke in the morning till six of the clocke at night, sitt in the Porters Lodge at my Lords Bishopps House, with his feete in the stocks, and attyred with his asse head, and a bottle of hay sett before him, and this subscription on his breast :

'Good people I have played the beast,
And brought ill things to passe :
I was a man, but thus have made
My selfe a silly Asse.'[1]

Regarding this remarkable incident we are without further information from any quarter.[2]

We have evidence that the Blackfriars theatre (and probably others) was open in Dec. 1631, but this was considerably posterior to the date of the Privy Seal last quoted. In an account of the expenses of Sir Humphrey Mildmay of Danbury[3] (which affords some new and rather curious information regarding plays and players at this period, and subsequently), beginning Jan. 1630-1, we find the following items :—

21 Jan. 1630-1. To a play with Sir Fra. Worteley, 2*s.* 6*d.*
26 April 1631. To the Spanishe Bawde, 2*s.* 6*d.*

---

[1] It is fit that we should express our acknowledgments to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, for an opportunity of inspecting various MSS. in his Library, which were readily placed in our hands by the kindness of the late Rev. Dr. Maitland.

[2] But see *Notes and Queries* of the 12th Nov. and 10th Dec. 1859, and Philips's *Life of Williams*, p. 253.

[3] *Harl. MSS.*, 554.

2 Nov. 1631. To a play, 1*s.* 6*d.*
22 Dec. 1631. To a play at the bl. fryers, 1*s.*

The Spanish Bawd was, probably, not a play which was acted, but the translation from the Spanish, by Thomas Mabbe, of a drama in twenty-one acts, which was printed in 1631, and the price of which might be two shillings and six-pence. If so, there is no entry in this account-book of any playhouse having been visited by Sir H. Mildmay in 1631, between January and November. Possibly, during a considerable part of this interval, the playhouses were closed.

Whether any, and what tragedies and comedies were A. D. 1632. performed at Court at Christmas 1631-2, we have no evidence, either from the office-book of Sir H. Herbert, or from other sources. We learn from a letter of John Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, dated Jan. 12, 1631-2,[1] that Aurelian Townshend, who had been steward to Lord Salisbury, was the author of the King's Mask, presented on the Sunday after Twelfth-night: it was called *Albion's Triumph.* According to the same authority, Ben Jonson was not employed, 'by reason of the predominant power of his antagonist, Inigo Jones, who this time twelvemonth was angry with Jonson, for putting his own name before his on the title-page' of *Chloridia.* Pory also states that the Queen's Mask (likewise by Townshend, and called *Tempe Restored*) was suspended in consequence of 'a soreness that fell into one of her delicate eyes'. It was, however, performed at Shrove-tide, and on the 7th Feb. a Privy Seal was issued to Edmund Taverner, Esq., for 600*l.* to be so applied; but this sum being found insufficient for the purpose, 200*l.* more were ordered to be paid to him under a Privy Seal, dated 20th February.

The cost of the Masks in the next year, Christmas 1632-3,

[1] *Vide* Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, i, 160.

considerably exceeded 2000*l.*, independent of that portion of the charge which was borne by the office of the Revels, and belonged to the accounts of that department. On the 23rd Dec. 1632, George Kirk, Esq., Gentleman of the Robes, had a Privy Seal for 450*l.* for 'masking attire', as the instrument expresses it, 'not only for our own regal person, but also for such other maskers on whom we are pleased to bestow their said masking attire'. This sum was for the King's Mask on Twelfth-day, for the preparation of which Edmund Taverner, Esq., had a warrant for 1000*l.*, dated 31st Dec. 1632. On the 20th Jan. 1632-3, to the same person was granted a Privy Seal for 800*l.*, 'towards the expense of a Mask, to be presented by our dearest consort, the Queen, at Shrovetide next.'

Besides these Masks, the Queen got up a Pastoral at Somerset-House, for Christmas 1632-3, and in that piece it should seem that *her Majesty herself took a part.* About the same date[1] came out the most learned and notorious work ever published against theatrical performances, —*Histriomastix, the Players Scourge*, by William Prynne, bearing the date of 1633, but published in 1632. Malone contented himself with referring to Whitelocke's *Memorials*

A. D. 1633.

[1] Whitelocke says, that Prynne's *Histriomastix* was published six weeks before the Pastoral at Somerset-house, in which the Queen played, was performed; and that Laud and others, who had been 'angered by some of Prynne's books against Arminianism, showed the passage in the Index, "women actors, notorious whores", to the King, and informed him, that the book was purposely written against the Queen and her pastoral'. (*Memorials*, p. 18.) According to one *Harl. MS.*, Prynne's *Histriomastix* was published on the day after the performance of the Queen's Pastoral; and according to another, that work had appeared 'a little before the Queen's acting of her play'. In either case, it would have been quite as absurd and unjust for Laud to have taken it to the King, and represented it as directed against that particular performance of the Queen.

on this interesting and important event,[1] but the *Harleian MSS.* in the British Museum contain some curious and contemporary evidence on the subject, in private letters written not long after the publication of Prynne's book, and the consequent arrest of its author. The following extract is from a familiar communication, containing a summary of the current news, from Justinian Pagett, a barrister, dated 28th of January 1632-3: it is addressed 'To my much honoured friend, James Harrington, Esq., at Walton upon Trent:'[2]—

'Mr. Prynne of Lincolnes Inne hath lately set forth a book, intitled *Histrio-mastix, or the Players Scourge*, the sale of which is prohibited, and he to appeare at the High Commission on Thursday next, where, when I have heard what is charged against him, I will (if you desier it) send you a more particular relation. His booke is extraordinarily stuffed with quotations of old authors, which (they say), are his only arguments. He cites St. Austin, who sayth, *Si tantummodo boni et honesti viri in civitate essent, nec in rebus humanis Ludi Scenici esse debuissent:* but I do not conceive this to be the cause why he is called in question, but rather some exorbitant passage concerning ecclesiastical government; for, I heare, he compares the playing on the organs, twixt the first and second Lesson, to Enterludes in Stage-playes. It is observable, that his booke was published the next day after the Queenes Pastorall at Somersett House.'[3]

---

[1] *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 120. [2] *Harl. MSS.*, No. 1026.

[3] There is a curious account of this whole transaction, and the instrumentality of Noy and Laud, in the Postscript (often wanting in the copies) to 'A Divine Tragedie lately acted; or a collection of sundry memorable examples of God's judgments upon Sabbath-breakers', etc., dated 'Anno 1636', without place or printer, and containing a violent attack upon those who had re-put forth the Declaration in favour of Lawful Sports, first published by James I in 1618. The writer of this tract, referring to the punishment of Prynne for his *Histriomastix*, asserts that 'it was written

The writer of the preceding account, on the 28th of January, had not seen Prynne's book, and only spoke of its contents from rumour; but a Mr. George Gresley, in a letter dated from Essex House, 31st of January 1632-3,[1] to Sir T. Puckering, quotes the author's words, and gives very exactly the nature of the charge against Prynne. He says:—

'Mr. Prinne, an Utter Barrister of Lincolns Inne, is brought into the High Commission Court and Star Chamber for publishing a booke (a little before the Queen's acting of her Play) of the Unlawfulness of Plaies; wherein, in the Table of his Booke, and his brief Additions thereunto, he hath these words "Women actors notorious whores," and that St. Paul prohibits women to speake publiquely in the Churche: "and dares then (sayth he) any Christian Woman be so more then whoreshly impudent, as to act, to speake publiquely on a Stage (perchaunce in man's apparell and cut haire) in presence of sundrie men and women?" which wordes, it is thought by some, will cost him his eares, or heavily punisht and deepely fined.'

---

four years, licensed almost three, printed off fully a quarter of a year, and published six weeks before the Queen's Majesty's Pastoral, against which it was falsely voiced to have been principally written'. In the margin is this note:—'One of the actors whereof, and he who first shewed his book to the King, within a few months after came to be his fellow prisoner in the Tower for a real commentary on his misapplied text.' The author makes out that the judgments of God fell upon nearly all who were concerned in the punishment of Prynne; but especially upon Noy, the Attorney-General, who, after suffering the most acute torments, died miserably, and was subsequently brought upon the stage in 'a merry comedy stiled, *A Projector lately dead*, wherein they bring him in his lawyer's robes upon the stage, and, openly dissecting him, find 100 Proclamations in his head, a bundle of old moth-eaten records in his maw, half a barrel of new white soap in his belly, which made him to scour so much; and yet, they say, he is still very black and foul within!' The whole is very curious and amusing.

[1] *Harl. MSS.*, No. 7000.

The expectations of the writer of this letter were soon more than realised: he thought that Prynne would 'lose his ears, or be heavily punished and deeply fined,' speaking in the disjunctive, whereas he suffered beyond both these inflictions. Having been tried in the Star Chamber, he was twice set in the pillory, lost parts of both ears,[1] was fined

[1] The subsequent quotations on this subject fix the dates when Prynne was set in the pillory: they are from the *Diary* of Sir Humphrey Mildmay, often before cited.

'May 7, 1634.—Att the Hall, where I sawe Prynne in the pillory, and lost a piece of an eare.

'May 10.—This fatall morning Prynne lost the other parte of an eare in Cheap[side].'

We have already had occasion, and shall have occasion again, to quote from this valuable MS., which, at one end of the volume, contains a journal of events, and at the other an account of the expenses of the writer in London and elsewhere. Mildmay does not seem to have been on very good terms with his wife, to have led a very gay life, and, among other things, to have given her just cause of complaint on the ground of infidelity. He enters everything without reserve; and the following are specimens of his daily expenses, not including the items of plays which he saw at the different theatres, because they are separately adverted to in our text:—

'21 Jan. 1631.—To the wanton Nurse at M. Langhornes, 1*s.*; to Mother Gill, a poor naughty woman, 1*s.*

'14 July 1632.—To a pretty wenche at Paule's Wharfe, 1*s.*

'10 Nov. 1632.—To Thomas of the Stall of Cozeninge, 1*s.* 6*d.*

'27 Nov. 1632.—At a Taverne with Ann Cressy, 8*d.*

'12 April 1633.—To Mr. John Percy for Rhemishe Testament, 8*s.*

'11 May 1633.—To Ducke Lane for popishe bookes, 3*s.*

'26 June 1633.—To a purse for ballets, 1*s.*

'22 July 1633.—Expences at a Cherry Garden, 2*s.*

'1 Nov. 1633.—To Hunnis, fiddler at Brentwood, 2*s.*

'8 Jan. 1634.—To Nath[l] for making of me merry, and to others at the same tyme at Much Hadam, 2*s.*

'19 Mar. 1634.—To a bookseller for the *Converted Jew*, 5*s.*

'14 July 1634.—To a Taverne with a *Bona*, 1*s.*'

5000*l.*, expelled Lincoln's Inn, disbarred, deprived of his degree in the University of Oxford, and ordered to be imprisoned for life. It is to be observed, that this sentence was not executed until May 1634, after the publication of *Histriomastix*, and the denunciation of it by Laud; so that the King and his advisers had not the excuse of tempo-

Two items in this MS. are particularly curious, in connection with the name of Shakespeare. They run thus:—

'31 May 1633.—To Mr. Shakespere his man Jo, for one per of spurres with bosses, etc., this laste of May, 9*s.*

'4 Dec. 1633.—To Jo, att Mr. Shakespers, for one per of spurres, 2*s.* 6*d.*'

There are many notes in the margin of this account-book, and opposite the first of these entries are placed these remarkable words, 'No player now'; as if the Shakespeare here mentioned had once been a player, or at least had had some connection with players. What relation, if any, this Shakespere might be to William Shakespeare, our researches have not enabled us to ascertain. We have been able to learn, however, that he bore the Christian name of Shakespeare's father, John, and that he was dead in 1637: by a Privy Seal, dated 16th of December, 13 Car. I, orders were given to the Lord Treasurer to pay to Mary Shakespere, 'widow and executrix of John Shakespere, our late Bittmaker, deceased', the sum of 1692*l.* 11*s.* due to her late husband. He must have been a man of considerable substance to allow so large a debt to accumulate: the Privy Seal is in the Chapter-house, Westminster. The very name of Shakespeare may reconcile us to the following particulars, derived from the *Registers* of the parish of St. Clement Danes: they do not include the death of John the Bit-maker, because they only apply to the years between 1608 and 1635. Where this John Shakespeare was married does not appear.

'10 July 1608.—Bapt. Jane, daughter of John Shakspier.

'30 June 1611.—Bapt. Thomas, son of John Shakspier.

'5 May 1614.—Bapt. Elleyn, daughter of John Shakspier.

'25 Aug. 1616.—Bapt. Katherine, daughter of John Shakspeare.'

The father had been married in 1605, as appears from the following in the *Marriage Register* of the same parish:—

'3 Feb. 1604-5.—Johne Shakspear to Mary Godtheredg.

rary excitement for its infliction. In the interval between the judgment and its enforcement, it was believed by many that the punishment, or part of it, would be remitted.[1]

Some quotations, applicable to the year 1632, made by Malone from the Register of Sir H. Herbert, must be noticed

---

BURIALS.

'8 Aug. 1609.—Jane Shackespear, the daughter of William.
'1 July 1612.—Thomas Shakspear, the sonne of John.
'3 Sept. 1612.—Susan Shakspere, the daughter of John.
'17 May 1632.—John Shackspere, son of John.
'10 July 1633.—Mary Shackspeare, daughter of John.
'27 Feb. 1633-4.—John Shackspeare, the King's Bittmaker.
'1 May 1635.—Mary Shakespeare.'

[1] The following passage upon this subject is quoted from the MS. journal of Sir Symonds d'Ewes, under date of 8th May 1634:—

'I departed from Stow-hall towards London, and the next day in the afternoon came safe thither. As soon as I lighted I heard a particular news which much ensadded my heart, touching William Prynne, Esq., that had been an Utter Barrister of Lincolns Inn and a graduate in the University of Oxford, who had lost one ear already in the pillory, or a part of it, and was to lose a part of the other to-morrow. He was a most learned and religious gentleman, had written many acute, solid and elaborate treatises, not only against the blasphemous Anabaptists, in the defence of God's grace and providence, but against the vices of the clergy, and the abuses of the times. He had been censured in the Star-chamber a few months before for some passages in a book he wrote against stage-plays, called *Histriomastix;* as if he had in them let slip some words tending to the Queen's dishonour, because he spoke against the unlawfulness of men wearing women's apparel, and women men's. Notwithstanding this censure, which most men were frighted at, to see that neither his academical nor barrister's gown could free him from the infamous loss of his ears, yet all good men generally conceived it would have been remitted; and many reported it was, 'till the sad and fatal execution of it this midsummer terme. I went to visit him a while after in the Fleet and to comfort him, and found in him the rare effects of an upright heart, and a good conscience, by his serenitie of spirit and cheerful patience.'

before we proceed with the theatrical events of 1633: one of them relates to the licensing of Ben Jonson's *Magnetic Lady, or Humours reconciled* (the Master of the Revels inverts the title, making the second the first) on the 12th October 1632, when Sir H. Herbert received 2*l.* as his fee. It would seem, from a passage in a letter by James Howell, dated 27th Jan. 1629 (quoted by Gifford[1]), that this play was already written and performed. It is clear, however, on the authority of Sir Henry Herbert, that Howell's letter is ante-dated, and the time of the completion of the *Magnetic Lady* is fixed by the following sentence in a letter from John Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, dated Sept. 20, 1633—'Ben Jonson (who I thought had been dead) hath written a play against next term called the *Magnetick Lady*.' It was licensed to the King's players; and Sir H. Herbert notices that he had received his fee from Knight, who was the prompter at the Blackfriars theatre.

Another quotation from the same authority, dated 18th Nov. 1632, refers to a comedy called *The Ball*, which Sir Henry Herbert attributes to James Shirley, but which was in fact the joint production of Shirley and Chapman: it had been acted by the Queen's players, under Beeston, at the Cockpit in Drury-lane, prior to the date of the entry of the Master of the Revels,[2] who found reason to complain of the manner in which 'lords and others of the Court' were personated in it, under the apprehension that he might himself be called to account for the offence of the poet.[3]

[1] Ben Jonson's *Works*, vi, 2.

[2] The date of the licence by Sir Henry Herbert seems to have been 16th Nov. 1632: so that the information regarding objectionable passages soon reached him.

[3] The play was printed in 1639, without the objectionable passages, as nothing of the kind is to be traced in it. The following is the precise form of the entry of it by Sir H. Herbert :—

In the spring of 1633 the King made a progress into Scot-
A. D. land, taking his departure from London on the 13th
1633. May. Whether any players attended him, as they had done his father, for his entertainment on the journey, we are without positive information.[1] Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* was performed by Joseph Taylor, and other actors, before the Queen on Twelfth-night 1633-4, as appears by Shakerley Marmyon's lines, prefixed to the edition of 1634. It was played afterwards before the King, when a new Dialogue, by way of prologue, was spoken by a Priest and a Nymph, to celebrate the occasion. When the King arrived in the capital of Scotland in June, he found his Gentlemen of the Chapel there, whither they had proceeded by sea. A Privy Seal was issued on 31st April, placing in the hands of Stephen Boughton, 'Sub-dean of the Chapel, 300*l.* to defray the charges of the Gentlemen of the Chapel attending the

'18 Novr. 1632. In the play of *The Ball*, written by Shirley, and acted by the Queen's players, there were divers personated so naturally, both of lords and others of the Court, that I took it ill and would have forbidden the play, but that Biston promised many things, which I found fault withall, should be left out, and that he would not suffer it to be done by the poet any more, who deserves to be punished: and the first that offends in this kind, of poet and players, shall be sure of public punishment.'

Here the offence seems to have been wholly that of the poet or poets, and not of the actors by their dresses or manners imitating people of consequence.

[1] The affirmative is rendered very probable by the following entry in the MS. Register of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, still preserved in the Lord Chamberlain's office;—

'25 Augt. 1634. A Council Warrant for 100*l.* for the Princes Players for their attendance abroad, during the progress of the Court.'

The King made no progress in 1634, and the money paid in August of that year had probably become due in the year preceding, when the King went to Scotland, called '*abroad*' in the warrant.

King in Scotland. That they went by sea appears from another document of the same kind, dated on the 6th May, 'for providing meals for 26 gentlemen of the chapel' *during their voyage*. The King returned to Greenwich towards the close of July.

The borough of Banbury had long been noted as the residence of Puritans, and early in May 1633, just before the King commenced his progress, that Corporation gave a striking proof of their hostility to anything like plays and players.[1] It seems that some unfortunate company, not named, but duly authorized by a royal patent and by the commission of the Master of the Revels, had found their way to Banbury, where they attempted to perform: however, the vigilance of the Mayor and other Justices was not to be eluded, and the 'wandering rogues', as they were called, were arrested, examined, and finally lodged in the town jail. These facts are stated in a letter sent by the Mayor of Banbury and two other Magistrates to the Privy Council, of which the following is a copy from the original in the State Paper Office. It is indorsed 'From the Maior of Banbury, etc., about Players':—

'To the Right honble, the most honoured Lords, the Lords of his Ma^ties^ most honor^ble^ privy Counsell, present theis.

'RIGHT HON^BLE^.—Our humble service to your Lordships premised,

---

[1] Ben Jonson calls Zeal-o'-the-land Busy in his *Bartholomew Fair*, 'a Banbury Man,' and in his *Gipsies Metamorphosed*, he laughs at 'the loud pure wives of Banbury'. Davenant's *Wits* was written in 1633, and the following ridicule of the Puritans of Banbury may have arisen out of the proceeding about to be detailed.—

'She is more devout
Than a Weaver of Banbury, that hopes
To intice heaven by singing to make him lord
Of twenty looms.'

It would be very easy to accumulate authorities upon this point from other old dramatists.

etc. Wee make bold to send to your Lordships herewithall a Pattent of licence, pretended by the bearers of it to be graunted by his Ma^tie^, and a commission from the M^r^. of the Revells. The pattent we suspect, the commission wee find rased: howsoever, wee find the parties (who have gone abroad into divers countyes with the same) wandring Rogues, if not more dangerous persons, as may appeare by their examinacions (which we have also sent to your Lordships), in which is apparant howe they have chaunged their names, etc. Their be six of them, all which we have committed to the prison of our Burrough, where we shall kepe them safe, till your Lordships pleasure be signifyed to us. And soe wee humbly take our leaves, resting 'Your Lordships humble servaunts.

'WILL^M^. ALLEN, Maior.
'THOMAS WHATELY, Justis.
'May 6, 1633. 'THOMAS HALLED, Justis.'

The examination of the players before the Corporation was, no doubt, a singular and amusing appendix, but it is not extant. The proceedings of the Privy Council upon the subject are detailed in the Registers of that body; but the reply to the Mayor and his brethren of the bench of Banbury was not written until the 22d May, and in the mean time the players, whose names appear from the Register to have been Bartholomew Jones, Richard Whiting (or Johnson), Edward Damport (or Davenport), Drew (or True) Turner, Robert Haughton, and Richard Colwell, were kept in the Borough Jail. The answer of the Privy Council was as follows:—

'May 22^d^. 1633.

'We have seen your letters of the 6^th^. of this instant moneth, as also a patent of Licence pretended to be graunted by his Majestie, a Commission from the Master of the Revels, and the examinations of those delinquents, being (as you say) wandering roages and daungerous persons; and [as] we concur with you in opinion, that there may be forgerie and rasure, both in the said Patent and in the Commission, so we doe approve, and comend the discreete course you

have taken in committing them to the common prison of your Burrough. Now, to the end that this abuse may be farther searched and examined, we doe hereby require and authorise you, to cause Jones and the rest of his complices (being five more) that are detained under restraint, to be released, and forthwith delivered to this bearer, Robert Cross, one of the Messengers of his Majesties Chamber; who hath warrant from this Board to receive them at your hands, and to bring them hether to answer before us for the crymes and misdemeanours wherewith they stand charged, and thereupon to be proceeded withall according to the quality of their offences, and the common lawes and justice of this Kingdom. And so, etc.—Signed Lord Keeper, Lord Privie Seale,' etc.

This was answering the Mayor and Corporation of Banbury in the spirit of their own letter; but the subsequent steps taken in the business seem to show, that the Privy Council meant to relieve the unhappy players from their durance, without offending the authorities of the Borough. A warrant having been made out on the same day to Robert Cross, to take into his custody the six persons above named, he brought them to London by June 3rd; and on that day they 'tendered their appearance', and it was directed that they should 'remain in the Messenger's custody till further order'. Perhaps the players satisfied the Privy Council, that they had acted at Banbury under sufficient authority; for, on the next day, the following entry is made in the Register:—'June 4th, 1633, This day the players, formerly sent for from Banbury, were discharged out of the Messenger's custody, upon bond given to be forthcoming whensoever they should be called for.'

In consequence of an order made on circuit, in Somersetshire, by Chief Justice Richardson and Baron Denham (father of the poet), for the total suppression of Wakes, Church-ales, etc., which was considered an infringement of the authority of the ecclesiastical power, the King (prin-

cipally, it is said, at the instigation of Laud) thought fit, on the 18th of October 1633, to 'ratify and publish' the Declaration regarding Sports and Pastimes on the Sabbath-day, which had been issued by James I, in 1618. This proceeding gave great offence, not only to the Puritans, but to many of the moderate party in the Kingdom.[1] The Chief Justice was also called before the Privy Council, reproved, and compelled at the next assizes to revoke his former order.

It has been already stated, that if Laud, in 1631, laid the petition of certain inhabitants of Blackfriars, against the inconveniences arising from the theatre, before the Privy Council, there is no trace that any effectual measures were taken upon it. It is a matter of inference only, that the complaint was renewed in the autumn of 1633, for on the 9th of October, in that year, we find the Privy Council entertaining the project of removing the playhouse, and of making compensation to the parties interested or injured. The Aldermen of the ward, and two others, were appointed to examine into the subject, and to make a report on the value of the property by the 26th of October.[2] Their report does not appear to be extant,

[1] The Declaration was reprinted in a separate form, in 8vo., by Robert Barker and the assigns of Robert Bill, with the date of 1634.

[2] The following is the order extracted from the *Privy Council Register*.

'Octr. 9, 1633.

'Upon consideration this day had at the Board of the great inconvenience and annoyance occasioned by the resorte and confluence of coaches to the Playhouse in Black-fryars, whereby the streetes, being narrow thereabouts, are at those times beecome impassable, to the great prejudice of his Majestys subjects passing that way upon their severall occasions, and in particular to divers Noblemen and Counsellors of State, whose houses are that way, whereby they are many times hindered from their necessary attendance upon his Majesty's person and service: Their Lordshipps calling to mynde, that formerly, upon complaint hereof made, the Board was of opinion that the said Play-house was fitt to bee

but we have discovered one dated nearly a month afterwards, not from the city authorities, but from certain magistrates apparently chosen for the purpose, and we subjoin it in the terms of the original.

'May it please your Lordships,—According to the order of this honorable Board of the 9th of October last, we have had divers meetings at the Black Fryers; and having first viewed the Playhouse there, we have called unto us the chief of the Players, and such as have interest in the said Playhouse and the buildings thereunto belonging (which we also viewed): Who, pretending an exceeding great loss, and almost undoing to many of them, and especially to divers widows and orphans having interest therein, if they should be removed from playing there, we required them to make a reasonable demand of recompense for such interest as they or any of them had therein. Whereupon their first demand being a gross sum, 16,000*l.*, we required them to set down particularly in writing how and from whence such a demand could rise, and gave them time for it. At our next meeting they accordingly presented unto us a particular note thereof, which amounted to 21,990*l.* But we, descending to an examination of their interest in their houses and buildings they there possess, and the indifferent valuation thereof, have with their own consent valued the same as followeth.

---

removed from thence, and that an indifferent recompence and allowance should be given them for their interests in the said house, and buildings thereunto belonging, did therefore think fitt and order, that Sir Henry Spiller and Sir William Becher Kn^ts^, the Aldermen of the Ward, Lawrence Whitaker, Esq. & — Child, Citizen of London, or any three of them, be hereby required to call such of the parties interested before them as they shall thinke fitt, and, upon hearing their demaunds, and view of the place, to make an indifferent estimate and value of the said house and buildings and of their interests therein; and to agree upon and set downe such recompence to be given for the same as shall be reasonable, and thereupon to make report to the Board of their doings and proceedings therein by the 26th of this present.'

'1. First for the Playhouse itself, whereof the Company hath taken a lease for divers years yet to come, of Cutbert Burbidge and William Burbidge (who have the inheritance thereof) at the rent of 50*l.* per Ann.: we value the same after the same rate, at 14 years' purchase, as an indifferent recompense to the said Burbidges, which cometh to 700*l.*

'2. For 4 tenements, near adjoining to the Playhouse, for the which they receive 75*l.* per annum rent, and for a void piece of ground there, to turn coaches in, which they value at 6*l.* per Ann., making together 81*l.* per Ann.: the purchase thereof, at 14 years, likewise cometh to 1134*l.* They demand further, in respect of the interest, that some of them have by lease in the said Playhouse, and in respect of the Shares which others have in the benefit thereof, and for the damage they all pretend they shall sustain by their remove, not knowing where to settle themselves again (they being 16 in number) the sum of 2400*l.*, viz., to each of them 150*l.* But we conceive they may be brought to accept of the sum of 1066*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which is to each of them 100 markes.

'All which we humbly leave to your Lordships' grave consideration. Your Lordships' most humbly to be commanded.

'H. Spiller. 'Will. Baker,
'Humfrey Smith, 'Laur Whitaker,
'20 Nov. 1633. 'Willm. Childe.'

[Indorsed.]—'Certificate from the Justices of the Peace of the County of Middlesex about the Blackfryers.'

The friends of the company of actors at the Blackfriars were evidently so strong and numerous, that the report was not acted upon; and instead of attempting to remove the Blackfriars theatre, an endeavour was made to lessen the evil by adopting regulations for the coaches. An order was published, and directed to be posted at St. Paul's, at the Conduit in Fleet-street, and at the gate of the Blackfriars, which, after reciting the nature of the complaint, went on to notice the 'easy passage by water to the playhouse', and the

facility of approach to persons on foot: it then directed, that no coaches should be allowed to come nearer the theatre 'than the farther side of St. Paul's Church-yard on the one side, and Fleet Conduit on the other side', and that even there coaches should not be allowed to remain.

In consequence, probably, of inattention to this exercise of authority, on the 29th of November the Lord Mayor was specially required by the Privy Council to see the regulations duly and strictly enforced.

It is particularly noted at the head of the next proceeding of the Privy Council on the subject, on the 29th of December, that the King was himself present in Council; and we can have little hesitation in deciding, that between the 20th of November and the 29th of December, some representations had been made personally to his Majesty in favour of the actors at the Blackfriars, whose interests would be seriously injured by carrying into execution the proposed regulations of the Council. On the 29th of December, an order was made 'to explain' the former decision, on account of 'the prejudice to the players, his Majesty's servants'; and this explanation was a permission, 'that as many coaches as may stand within the Blackfriars gate may enter and stay there, or return thither at the end of the play.' This, in fact, was a rescinding of the regulations of the 20th of November.[1]

[1] Malone (who knew nothing of the proceedings of the Privy Council on the subject) published, from the *Stafford Letters*, i, 175, one from Mr. Garrard, dated 9th of January 1633-4, in which he refers to the order of the Privy Council which had been hung up 'near Paul's and the Blackfriars, to command all that resort to the playhouse there to send away their coaches': Garrard states farther, that for two or three weeks 'it was kept very strictly', but that it was not enforced at the time when he wrote (*vide Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 151). The reason for the non-enforcement, which he does not mention, is that assigned above in the text.

The earliest entry by Sir H. Herbert in the year 1633, is dated 7th of May, when he received his customary fee of *2l.* on licensing Ben Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*, with the omission of that part which was intended to ridicule Inigo Jones.[1] Their quarrel is supposed to have arisen out of the ill success of *Chloridia*, in which they had been jointly concerned, at Shrovetide 1630-1. There is also an entry of July 3rd, 1633, regarding the licensing of Shirley's play of *The Young Admiral*, which the Master of the Revels admired, because it was free from oaths, profaneness, and obsceneness.[2] It was first printed in 1637.

The licensing of Ben Jonson's *Magnetic Lady* has been already noticed; and prior to the 24th of October 1633, the company of the King's servants, by whom it was acted, seem to have been called to account by the High Commission Court, for certain interpolations, to which neither the author nor the Master of the Revels was privy. The nature of the

[1] The terms of this singular entry are these:—R. for allowing of *The Tale of a Tub*, Vitruvius Hoops part wholly struck out, and the motion of the Tub, by command from my lord Chamberlain, exceptions being taken against [them] by Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the King's Works, as a personal injury unto him. May 7, 1633, *2l.* *0s.* *0d.*'

[2] 'The comedy called *The Younge Admiral*, being free from oaths, profaneness or obsceneness, hath given me much delight and satisfaction in the readinge, and may serve for a pattern to other poets, not only for the bettering of manners and language, but for the improvement of the quality, which hath received some brushings of late.—When Mr. Shirley hath read this approbation, I know it will encourage him to pursue this beneficial and cleanly way of poetry; and when other poets heare and see his good success, I am confident they will imitate the original for their own credit, and make such copies in this harmless way, as shall speak them masters in their art at the first sight to all judicious spectators. It may be acted this 3rd of July 1633.

'I have entered this allowance for direction to my successor, and for example to all poets that shall write after the date hereof.'

interpolations cannot be ascertained, but the consequence was, that the actors were silenced for a time by imprisonment, or by some less severe mode of prohibition.[1] They presented two petitions to the Star Chamber, in the first of which they laid the blame on Ben Jonson and Sir H. Herbert, but in the second acknowledged that they only were guilty, and, as Sir Henry expresses it, 'did me right in my care to purge their plays of all offence.' In an interview he had with Archbishop Laud, on the 24th of October 1633, the Master of the Revels was acquitted of negligence.[2]

[1] Very nearly about the same period the company acting at the Salisbury Court theatre incurred the displeasure of the Master of the Revels, in relation to a play called the second part of *The City Shuffler*, as appears from the following extract from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert:—

'Octob. 1633. Exception was taken by Mr. Sewster to the second part of the *Citty Shuffler*, which gave me occasion to stay the play, till the company had given him satisfaction; which was done the next day, and under his hande he did certefye mee that he was satisfyed.'

A play called *The City Shuffler* was among the MSS. said to have been destroyed by Warburton's servant.

On the 19th of the same month the performance of Fletcher's *Tamer Tamed, or the Taming of the Tamer*, which Sir H. Herbert then calls 'an old play', was forbidden on account of 'oaths, profaneness, and ribaldry'. On the 21st October the King's players were allowed to represent it, after it had undergone the purgation thought necessary by the Master of the Revels. With the entry referring to this comedy, Sir H. Herbert inserts a 'submission upon a former disobedience', by the King's players in December 1624, when they acted *The Spanish Viceroy* without the proper sanction, and were punished for their misconduct. It may be worth while here to subjoin the names of the actors who subscribed the written 'submission' on this occasion, viz.:—Joseph Taylor, Richard Robinson, Elyard Swanston, Thomas Pollard, Robert Benfielde George Burght, John Lowen, John Shancke, John Rice, Will. Rowley, Richard Sharpe.

[2] Sir Humphrey Mildmay not unfrequently visited the theatres when

Sir H. Herbert is this year more particular than usual in his account of the plays performed at Court. On the 17th of November *Richard III* was acted by the King's players, and on the 19th of November *The Young Admiral* by the Queen's players.[1] *The Taming of the Shrew* was performed on the 26th of November, and *The Tamer Tamed* on the 28th of November. Dramatic amusements were again required on the 10th and 16th of December, when *The Loyal Subject* and *Hymen's Holiday* were severally represented.[2]

he was in London, and the following items in the account of his daily expenses, before quoted, are not without interest; they relate to the public performance of plays and to other matters in 1633:—

'13 May.—To a play, 2*s*.
'16 May.—To a play that day, being Thursday, at the Globe, 2*s*.
'31 May.—To Mr. Shakespere his man, for one pair of spurres with bosses, 9*s*.
For a toye of Jos. Hall, Bp. of Exon, of Na. Butter, 1*s*.
' 6 June.—For 4 bookes in Duck-lane, harde to be hadd, 10*s*.
To a pretty and merry comedy at the Cocke [pit], 1*s*.
' 8 June.—To a play at the Globe, with Dorcrutch, 1*s*. 6*d*.
'18 June.—To a play at the Globe, 1*s*. 10*d*.
' 4 Nov.—To Jo at Mr. Shakesperes for one per of spurres, 2*s*. 6*d*.
'14 Nov.—To Mr. —— and myselfe at a play, 3*s*.'

[1] The first of these pieces was, probably, Shakepeare's tragedy (although we have already seen that Samuel Rowley was also author of a play upon this portion of English history), and the last Shirley's comedy. Sir Henry Herbert's entries regarding both are thus worded:—'On Saturday, 17th of November, being the Queen's birth-day' [Malone states correctly that the Queen's birthday was on the 16th] *Richard the Third* was acted by the K. players at St. James, where the King and Queen were present, it being the first play the Queen saw since her Majesty's delivery of the Duke of York, 1633.'

'On Tuesday, 19th of November, being the King's birthday, the *Young Admiral* was acted at St. James by the Queen's Players, and liked by the K. and Queen.'

[2] Sir H. Herbert's words are these:—'On Tuesday night at St. James',

We hear of no masks this Christmas, and no Privy Seals are extant for the payment of money on account of them: the King, Queen and Court seem to have been well satisfied with dramatic amusements of a less costly description; and the services of the King's company were called for on the 1st and 6th of January 1633-4. The play on the first night was *Cymbeline*, and on the second *The Faithful Shepherdess*.[1] A. D. 1634.

The peril in which the Master of the Revels was temporarily placed in October 1633, in consequence of offensive matter (probably oaths) introduced by the King's actors into *The Magnetic Lady*, appears to have rendered him afterwards extremely cautious on the point; and when, early in January 1633-4, Davenant's *Wits* was presented to him for licence, he crossed out many exclamations, that struck him in the light of oaths. Through Endymion Porter, Davenant complained

the 26th of Nov. 1633, was acted before the King and Queen, *The Taming of the Shrew*. Liked.

'On Thursday night at St. James', the 28th of November 1633, was acted before the King and Queen *The Tamer Tamed*, made by Fletcher. Very well liked.

'On Tuesday night at Whitehall, the 10th of December 1633, was acted before the King and Queen *The Loyal Subject*, made by Fletcher, and very well liked by the King.

'On Monday night, the 16th of December 1633, at Whitehall, was acted before the King and Queen *Hymen's Holiday or Cupid's Vagaries*, an old play of Rowley's. Liked.

[1] These two performances are thus mentioned by Sir Henry Herbert:—

'On Wednesday night, the first of January 1633, *Cymbeline* was acted at Court by the King's Players.—Well liked by the King.

'On Monday night, the 6th of January and the Twelfth Night, was presented at Denmark House before the King and Queen Fletcher's Pastoral called *The Faithful Shepherdess*, in the clothes the Queen had given Taylor the year before of her own pastoral. The scenes were fitted to the pastoral and made by Mr. Inigo Jones in the great chamber, 1633.'

to the King of this exercise of authority, and on the 9th of January the King called the Master of the Revels before him, and directed that he should allow such words as *faith*, *death* and *slight* to stand, 'as asseverations only, and no oaths': Davenant was in considerable favour at this date, which might induce the King to take especial interest about his play. Notwithstanding this royal decision against him, Sir Henry Herbert made the following memorandum in his office-book, showing that he was 'convinced against his will'.

'The King is pleased to take faith, death, slight, for asseverations and no oaths, to which I do humbly submit as my masters judgment; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here to declare my opinion and submission.'

The play was therefore returned to Davenant, 'corrected by the King,' on the 10th of January, and on the 28th of January it was acted before Charles and his Queen, and 'well liked'; yet Sir H. Herbert qualifies this statement by adding, —'It had a various fate on the stage and at Court, though the King commended the language, but disliked the plot and characters.'

Previous to this date, we learn from the same manuscript, that Massinger's *Guardian* had been played by the King's company on the 12th of January, and Ben Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*, by the Queen's servants, on the 14th of January: the first was 'well liked', and the last 'not liked'. It was followed, on the 16th of January, by *The Winter's Tale*, by the King's players, which was also 'liked'. Fletcher's *Night-Walkers* was represented on the 30th of January, two days after the performance of Davenant's *Wits*, and 'liked as a merry play'.[1]

[1] This was probably Fletcher's play with alterations by Shirley; for on the 11th of May 1633, Sir Henry Herbert makes the following memorandum regarding the receipt of his fee of 2*l.*:—'For a play of Fletcher's, corrected by Shirley, called *The Night-Walkers*.'

Thus, between the 16th of November and the 30th of January, thirteen plays were acted before the King and Queen. Sir H. Herbert's memoranda regarding these exhibitions contain nothing requiring observation.

Nor did the Court Revels end here, for the Middle and Inner Temples, Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, joined in the presentation of a mask on the 3rd of February.[1] It was called *The Triumph of Peace*, written by Shirley, and the scenes and machinery the invention of Inigo Jones. It was a most expensive exhibition; and Whitelocke states that the music only, under the superintendence of William Lawes and Simon Ives, cost no less than 1000*l.*, while the clothes of the horsemen were valued at 10,000*l.*[2] The maskers and anti-

[1] Malone states that this event took place on the 2nd of February, and in this he follows Sir H. Herbert; but the printed copy on the title-page states, that it was performed 'before the King and Queen in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, February the third, 1633'.

[2] Whitelocke himself composed an air for the occasion, which was afterwards extraordinarily popular under the name of 'Whitelocke's *Coranto*'. He gives a minute account of the exhibition of this mask; and Dr. Burney, in his *History of Music* (iii, 376), has quoted from a MS. of Whitelocke's *Memorials* the following particulars, which are also to be found in Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 113:—

'For the music, which was particularly committed to my charge, I gave to Mr. Ives and to Mr. Lawes 100*l.* a-piece for their rewards: for the four French gentlemen, the Queen's servants, I thought that a handsome and liberal gratifying them would be made known to the Queen their mistress, and well taken by her. I therefore invited them one morning to a collation at St. Dunstan's Tavern, in the great room, the Oracle of Apollo, where each of them had his plate laid him, covered and the napkin by it; and when they had opened their plates they found in each of them forty pieces of gold, of their masters coin, for the first dish, and they had cause to be much pleased with this surprisal. The rest of the musicians had rewards answerable to their parts and qualities. The charges of all the rest of the Mask, which were borne by the Societies, were accounted to be above 20,000*l.*'

maskers assembled at Ely and Hatton Houses, and proceeded in procession through the streets to Whitehall. So popular was the performance, that Shirley's description of the mask with the songs, etc., went through three editions in the year in which it was represented.[1]

The following extract of a letter, from Justinian Pagett to his 'cousin Tremyll', without date, but clearly written only a few days after the mask was presented, has never been published: it contains some points not mentioned elsewhere, and among them the fact, that *The Triumph of Peace*, having been performed at Whitehall on Monday, gave such satisfaction to the King, that he required it to be repeated, with the whole ceremony of the procession, on the Tuesday following, at Merchant Tailors' Hall.

'I have sent you a booke of our Masque, which was presented on munday last with much applause and commendation from the K and Queene and all the Spectators. The K and Q supt that night at Salisbury House, and there saw us ride in the streetes, after which they presently went by water to Whitehall, and there saw us from the long gallery at the upper end of the tilting yard. When the masque was ended, we all kissed the K and Queenes hand, and then were conducted by my Lord Chamberlain and other Lords to a rich banquet, whither the K and Q came, and took a taste, and then, graciously smiling upon us, left us to the sole enjoying of that well furnisht table, with strict command that not any should touch a bitt but ourselves. The next day the K sent for our Marshall, Mr. Thomas Dorrell of Lincolns Inn, and Knighted him. And being much pleased and taken with the sight hath sent to us to ride againe on Tuesday next to Merchant Taylers Hall, in the same manner as

---

1. 'The third impression' has considerable variations from the others, both in the description and in the performances of the anti-masks. It was printed by John Norton, for William Cooke, 1633.

we rode to White-hall, and there to meete his Maty at supper, and to present our Masque. Sir Henry Vayne, and other great Travellers say they never such a sight in any part of the world.'[1]

Whitelocke informs us, that the Four Inns of Court wished, by the exhibition of this mask, 'to manifest the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and to confute his *Histriomastix* against interludes'; and it is most probable, that the extraordinary encouragement given by the Court about this period to theatrical representations grew out of the same disposition. We farther read in Sir H. Herbert's Register that Shirley's *Gamester*, which he had licensed on the 11th Nov. 1633, was acted at Court on the 6th Feb. 1633-4: he subjoins, that the King, through him, had furnished the poet with the plot, and that his Majesty said, that 'it was the best play he had seen for seven years'.

The splendour of the Mask of *The Triumph of Peace*, in the opinion of the Master of the Revels, was exceeded by a similar performance on Shrove-Tuesday, 18th Feb. 1633-4, in which the King danced with eleven Lords, attended by ten pages. He adds, and it is the only known source of information upon the subject,—'it was the noblest mask of my time to this day, the best poetry, best scenes, and the best habits. The King and Queen were very well pleased with my service, and the Queen was pleased to tell me, before the King, "*Pour les habits, elle n'avoit rien vu de si brave.*"' He gives the production no name.

As Sir H. Herbert furnishes very little intelligence respecting plays performed either at Court, or at the public theatres

[1] Martin Parker wrote and printed a description in verse of the long procession in this mask, and it was headed by a wood-cut of the procession: a copy of it is preserved among the ballads in the collection of F. Ouvry, Esq., F.S.A. The versification has little merit, but the woodcut is curious and elaborate.

in 1634,[1] we must resort to such other, though scanty, sources of information, as are within our power: the MS. of the diary and account-book of Sir Humphrey Mildmay in a degree supplies the deficiency. Here we find mention of Davenant's *Wits*, and of his *Love and Honour;* a new play, which Mildmay names *Lasander and Calista*,[2] 'being a poem'; Lodowick Carlell's *Spartan Ladies*, and 'the play of *Pastorell*'. The only theatres he mentions are the Blackfriars and the Cockpit.—The items are subjoined in a note.[3]

The MS. Register of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery proves incontestably, notwithstanding the silence of Sir H. Herbert, that no less than twenty-two plays were

[1] He mentions only that Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois* was performed on Easter Monday, and *The Pastorall* on Easter Tuesday by the King's players.

The last actor of note, in the part of Bussy d'Amboys, seems to have been Elliard Swanston, whose name has often occurred among the King's players. Edmund Gayton, in his *Festivous Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, thus speaks of him and Taylor:—'He was instantly metamorphosed into the stateliest, gravest, and commanding soul that eye ever beheld: Taylor acting Arbaces, or Swanston D'Amboys, were shadows to him.'

Swanston afterwards became a Puritan, or, at least, was one of the very few players who joined the party opposed to the King. This fact appears from a tract printed in 1648, entitled *A Key to the Cabinet of the Parliament, by their Remembrancer:* after alluding to the 'suppression of all holidays', the writer asks, 'What need is there of any playes? Will not these serve well enough, especially when they have gotten Hillyar Swansted, the player to be one?' He mistakes the spelling of both Elliard Swanston's names, but no doubt the same individual is intended.

[2] It was performed on the 12th Dec. 1634; an earlier date than has yet been assigned to it. The following is the memorandum in the Diary; for neither that, nor *Lasander and Calista*, are named in the account of expenses: '19 Dec. 1634.—To a play of *Love and Honour*.'

[3] They apply to a whole year, beginning with

'21 Jan. 1633-4.—To a playe at Bla. fryers, 1*s.* 6*d.*

'22 Jan. „ To a play at the fryers, *The Witts*, 1*s.*

acted before the King by his own company, in the year preceding April 1634, including of course those usually represented at Christmas and Shrovetide. For these 220*l.*, or at the rate of 10*l.* per play, were paid to the then leaders of the King's players,—John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, and Elliard Swanston.[1]

The only extract made by Malone from Sir H. Herbert's Register, relating to plays in 1634, is a notice, that on the 13th May of that year, 'the Queen was at Blackfriars to see Massinger's play.' Malone adds, that the piece she then saw was the tragedy of *Cleander*, and that it had been 'produced on the 7th of the same month', but in fact it was licensed on that day: it does not at all follow that it was brought out on the very day it was allowed by the Master of the Revels, although it might sometimes so happen. Sir H. Herbert does not mention this visit of the Queen to the Blackfriars playhouse as an extraordinary or novel occurrence.

'27 Jan. 1633-4.—To a play with Com. Panheard, 3*s.*
„ „ For a booke, and the playe of Pastorell, 2*s.*
'19 Feb. „ For the Masque of his Ma., 6*d.*
'20 Mar. „ To a base play at the Cockepitt, 1*s.* 6*d.*
' 1 May 1634.—To a new play called *The Spartan Lady*, 1*s.* 3*d.*
' 8 May „ To a play with Dom. Ch. Abdy, 1*s.*
'21 May „ To a playe with company, 6*s.*
'12 Dec. „ To a play with the 2 Southlandes, 4*s.* 6*d.*'

[1] The item is quoted in the following form by Chalmers, *Apol.*, p. 507: '27 April 1634.—A warrant for 220*l.* unto John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, and Elliard Swanston, for themselves and the rest of their fellows, the King's players, for 22 plays by them acted before his Majesty within a whole year.

END OF VOL. I.

T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.

BLUE
PN
1589
.C6
1879
v.1 c.2

4117272

5499